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# USSR Report

KOMMUNIST

No 3, FEBRUARY 1986

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11 JULY 1986

## USSR REPORT

## KOMMUNIST

No 3, February 1986

[Translation of KOMMUNIST, the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow (18 issues per year).]

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## EDITORIAL -- THE LEADING SOCIAL FORCE

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[Text] Our country is entering an important and responsible period in its advance toward communism. The 27th CPSU Congress, which will open in a few days, will adopt a scientific program for the qualitative reorganization of all aspects of life of socialist society on the way to the acceleration of socioeconomic progress. The party's strategic course, proclaimed at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is aimed at the radical renovation of the material and technical base of society on the basis of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution and the advancement of social relations, economic above all. Profound changes must take place in the content and nature of labor and the material and spiritual living conditions of the people. The entire system of political, social and ideological institutions will be energized. The reaching of this qualitatively new status by Soviet society will mark a historical step toward the higher phase of communism.

Our country has everything that is required for the implementation of the party's plans: a gigantic economic, scientific and technical and cultural potential, and an army of skilled working people in all areas of material and spiritual production. It is vitally important to handle this wealth skillfully and make maximally efficient use of all the possibilities and socioeconomic, political, ideological and moral advantages of socialism.

The steady and undeviating enhancement of the consciousness and creative activeness of the working person is a decisive and mandatory prerequisite for our accelerated advancement on the path of social progress. This is the main task on which the party structures its policy. The live creativity of the people is a prerequisite for all of our achievements. The activities of the working people, united through their collective interests, communist ideamindedness and conscious discipline, are the main source of successes of socialism. Such is the way V.I. Lenin formulated the question and such is the way it is formulated today by the party. "The socialist society," the draft of the new edition of the CPSU program stipulates, "cannot efficiently function without finding new ways of developing the creative activeness of the masses in all realms of social life. The broader the historical objectives become, the more important becomes the personally interested, responsible, conscious and active participation of millions of people in achieving them. "For it is no secret that the adverse trends and difficulties

encountered by the country in the course of its development during the 1970s and beginning of 1980s, are largely related to a certain lowering of the labor and sociopolitical activeness of part of the population. Consumerist and petit-bourgeois moods were energized. Bureaucratism, with its ostentatiousness and verbiage, concealing formalism and routine in work, parochialism and departmentalism, became somewhat widespread. All of this weakened the ties between the party and the masses. The CPSU is firmly pursuing a course of decisive and merciless struggle against such phenomena, which are profoundly alien to the nature of socialism, and for establishing revolutionary order in all realms of society, improving the moral and psychological climate and ensuring the further democratization of social life. In its struggle against negative phenomena and for the assertion of everything that is new and progressive in our life, the party relies on the broadest possible people's masses and, above all, on the vanguard of the working people--the working class. It is precisely the latter's work and political activeness that make it the force which leads all working people in the successful implementation of the party's plans.

The entire experience of the revolution and the building of socialism and communism convincingly proves the vanguard role of the working class. "Whenever the Soviet system has faced difficulties in the exceptionally difficult matter of building socialism," Lenin said, "the only means of struggle against it known to the Soviet system has been to turn to the workers..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 37, p 235). "The political experience of the working class, its high consciousness and its organization and willpower will rally our entire society," the draft new edition of the CPSU program stipulates. "The growth of general education and cultural and professional standards and the labor and sociopolitical activeness of the working class enhance its vanguard role in perfecting socialism and in the entire process of building communism." This conclusion is not simply a tribute to Marxist tradition but directly stems from the specific facts of our life.

Why, for example, are working time losses caused by absenteeism and lateness 20 (!) times lower at the Seversk Pipes Plant (Sverdlovsk Oblast) compared to the oblast's industry as a whole? Because the problem of discipline was taken up by the workers themselves. "Labor and Social Discipline Are the Collective's Guarantee" was their initiative, which has already become a working system. The most powerful educational force was put to work at the plant at full capacity--educating the person through real material and moral responsibility to the labor collective. The initiative clearly indicated that the conscious leading workers were able to prove themselves in fact as the leading class and to assert their will as the universal law. Such facts trigger confidence in the implementation of the party's plans and in that the working class will make it mandatory for all, from the machine-tool worker to the minister and from the kolkhoz member to the scientist, thus creating conditions in which drunkenness, absenteeism, bribery and theft will diminish and disappear once and for all, and bombastic and meaningless speeches, "communist nonsense" and "communist boastfulness" will come to an end.

In explaining the sources of the strength, organization and discipline of the working class, in his time Lenin pointed out that the proletariat was trained, united, raised and tempered in the class struggle against capitalism; it mastered urban and industrial standards; it acquired the resolve and ability to defend them and to preserve and develop their accomplishments further, making them accessible to the entire population, to all working people; it is capable of withstanding all hardships, trials, misfortunes and great sacrifices which history inevitably imposes on those who break with the past and daringly open for themselves a path to a new future. This is a class in which the best people are full of hatred and scorn for everything philistine and petit-bourgeois and the qualities which blossom so richly in a petit-bourgeois environment. It is a class which has attended the training school of labor and is able to instill in all working people and all honest persons respect for its ability to work (see op. cit., vol 38, pp 387-388).

This turns the working class into the bearer of new, socialist and collectivistic social relations, particularly receptive to scientific socialist ideology, and into a systematic fighter for socialism and communism. The best features of the working class are embodied in its frontranking detachment--the Marxist-Leninist party--which consciously expresses the basic objectives and interests of that class.

"The main feature in Marx's theory is the clarification of the universal-historical role of the proletariat as the builder of a socialist society" (V.I. Lenin, op. cit, vol 23, p 1). At each new historical stage, as the working class develops and its social aspect changes, this main Marxist tenet assumes a new specific meaning and the leading role of the working class assumes new features and forms of manifestation.

Headed by its Leninist party, the working class in the land of the soviets has covered a long and glorious road. From a deprived class it has become the owner of the basic means of production. Through its dedicated labor it laid a technical and organizational base of production forces, developed a form of ownership consistent with socialism, advanced labor socialization and became not only a politically but also an economically ruling class. It thus fulfilled a historically unique mission: whereas the majority of poor, semi-proletarian and petit-bourgeois population strata participated in the destruction of large-scale capitalist ownership of means of production and their expropriation and confiscation or, in other words, in formal-juridical socialization, alongside the working class, actual socialization, i.e., the organization of large-scale production on the basis of superior technology, accountability of material wealth, strict control over the measure of labor and consumption and ensuring a scientific, planned and centralized management of the economy could be achieved exclusively by the working class, which acted as the subject of collectivistic production relations and led all working people. In resolving this problem, the working class was transformed quantitatively and qualitatively. Today it accounts for the absolute majority of the working people and its professional and cultural standards have risen sharply.

The form of political leadership of the working class in society steadily developed as well. Having fulfilled its historical mission, the state of

dictatorship of the proletariat grew into a socialist state of the whole people, based on the unbreakable alliance among the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia, and acting as the main instrument in perfecting socialism in our country. Under contemporary conditions, the prestige and social example of the working class are the main form through which it is implementing its leading role. Its revolutionary ideology and morality are steadily asserting themselves as the dominant social outlook.

Thanks to the persistent efforts of the Soviet people, our country achieved major successes in the economic, social and political areas, science and culture. It reached new historical heights which inaugurated the stage of developed socialism. "The task of the all-round and comprehensive advancement of socialist society and the fuller and more efficient utilization of its possibilities and advantages was put on the agenda," the draft new edition of the CPSU program stipulates. The new tasks open new scope for the development of the initiative and creativity of the working people and for intensifying the leading role of the working class in all realms of life.

Material output and labor as the main realm of human activities are the beginning of everything. The working class wields a powerful contemporary industry, which is the decisive base for the development of production forces and, therefore, for upgrading the well-being of society. The overwhelming amount of the social product is created through the toil of the workers. Workers are found in the sectors where progressive technology which determines scientific and technical progress is concentrated. It is precisely the contemporary worker who is the decisive link in socioeconomic development.

In accordance with the task of accelerating scientific and technical progress, as set by the party, within a historically short time we must complete the technical reconstruction of the national economy, master new generation equipment and progressive resources and energy and labor-saving technologies which will ensure a manifold increase in labor productivity. A sharp turn must be made toward production intensification. Each enterprise and sector must be reoriented toward the full and primary utilization of qualitative factors of economic growth.

A major reorganization has been launched. The practical experience of many labor collectives proves that we can manage the economy in a new fashion. Many are the enterprises in the country which have adopted as an inviolable law of economic management and as their entire way of life the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs of society with the lowest possible outlays of all types of resources, described in the draft new edition of the CPSU program as the basic criterion in assessing the activities of sectors, associations, enterprises and all production nuclei. Despite the entire disparate nature of their output and specific technology and the entire variety of economic and organizational novelties, success is based on a single common principle--the activities of the workers, who are actively participating in enterprise management and have taken over the task of bringing order and discipline, initiatives which meet with firm party support. No one offered such collectives a "most favored" status. Conversely, they had to work, and occasionally still do, under the conditions of obsolete standards and instructions, surmounting the inertia of economic thinking and customary

yet by now useless work systems and methods. In Lenin's words, success was achieved through the "upturn in the mood of the masses and the heroic initiative of individual groups which, against the background of such an upturn, frequently play a decisive role" (op. cit., vol 39, p 21).

Sensing the upturn in the moods of the masses on time, supporting the initiative of individual groups and frontranking working class detachments, leading such initiative and making it comprehensive constitutes, according to Lenin, the art of political and party leadership. It is precisely such an upturn that is being experienced by the country today. The desire of the working people to work in a new fashion is becoming increasingly obvious. Giving real support and developing this desire and not limiting oneself, as has occasionally been the case, to the purely verbal support of one initiative or another or pro-forma appeals for its dissemination, is a task of tremendous political importance. We must develop and utilize in economic management the type of system of economic levers and incentives which provides real advantages to the labor collectives which are successful in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, produce better quality goods and upgrade production profitability.

"....The CPSU," stipulates the draft new edition of the party program, "will systematically pursue a line of development of the creative initiative of the working people and their increasing involvement in the production management process...." The socialist competition is the most important factor in developing the creativity of the working people and one of the basic means of self-assertion and the social recognition of the individual. The party believes that its main areas must include the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, the growth of labor productivity, the thrifty utilization of resources, upgrading production efficiency and quality and reducing production costs, ensuring a clear labor rhythm and timely implementation of contractual obligations and achieving the best possible and national economic results.

Today we are emphasizing the achievement of the type of results and indicators which are accessible not to individual workers but, above all, to entire labor collectives. This gives priority to Lenin's idea to the effect that the most important task of the socialist competition is production organization. This is the main area in which the creative efforts of the masses are applied. Lenin wrote that we must bring to life the organizing talents of workers and peasants. "It is necessary to awaken in them and to organize on a statewide scale competition for the sake of organizational successes." The labor collectives must "act in competing against each other, as practical organizers of accountability and control over labor and distribution of products" (op. cit., vol 35, pp 201,203).

The brigade contracting method, work on a basis of a single order, has become one such new form of production organization, created by the working people themselves. Wherever this work method is applied not formally, be it in construction, agriculture, industry or transportation, wherever the workers manage the production process truly as owners, substantial results are achieved, labor productivity and the rhythmical nature of the production process improve and discipline, organization and order strengthen. The

collective forms of labor organization and wages help every worker to feel himself an inseparable part of the labor collective and a necessary link in the unbreakable production chain.

We should not think, however, that the brigade contracting method is a panacea for all production problems at its present development stage. Its further advancement and further creative searches are needed. On the one hand, we must consider how to make collective forms of labor organization encompass not only the direct producing workers but all production levels and engineering-technical, design-engineering and management services, so that they may serve as an effective means for the consolidation of one enterprise or another as a single production organism. On the other, we must be concerned with preventing the brigade method from being reduced merely to group piece-rate work with the inevitable classification of all work into "profitable" and "unprofitable," and sinking into narrow-group interests. Conversely, it must become a means of ensuring the organic unity among individual, collective and social interests, and into a powerful factor for promoting socialist collectivism and a communist attitude toward labor.

The strength of our society lies in the consciousness of the masses. Many people among us are restless and searching, not separating their individual interests from those of society. These are people who are honestly bearing the proud name of worker, who are not satisfied with the achieved level but are steadily learning and improving themselves. They are many, they are in the majority. However, we are concerned by the fact that alongside honest working people we also can see people who are woolgathering and uninterested, who consider production as something external and alien and who are concerned above all with avoiding too much work and too much effort. These people always stand aside, they always act like observers. They are not reluctant to grab a bigger piece from the social pie. However, they themselves will never volunteer to assume a somewhat heavier burden, a greater responsibility. Such people can be justifiably described as bearers of the vestiges of a mercenary mentality.

Surmounting such a mercenary mentality inherited by the working class from capitalism is the most important educational and, above all, economic and organizational task. We must eliminate from labor relations among people anything which could contribute to the alienation of the worker from the social entity, the loss of his feeling of being master of the production process. We must find within the production process itself and strengthen the material foundation for the development of feelings of profound personal involvement of the individual with the life of his collective and the entire society. Here as well everything depends on where to look for such a foundation: ahead or behind us.

Of late some social scientists have tried to interpret the steps taken to broaden the rights of labor collectives and to grant enterprises and associations greater economic autonomy as indicating a return toward levels of production socialization and to cooperative or even group ownership of plants, farms and service enterprises by the workers, allegedly this being the only possible basis for real "work for oneself." The authors of such interpretations occasionally call for untying the hands of private initiative.



They "forget" Lenin's classical thesis according to which "the great change from forced labor to labor for oneself" is also a change to "labor systematically organized on a huge, nationwide (to a certain extent also international, worldwide) scale..." (op. cit., vol 35, p 197). The changes planned in the economic area will take place within the strict confines of scientific socialism, without any deviations toward a market economy and private enterprise. The integral economic management, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized, must be built on the basis of principles inherent in socialism," in which "not the market, not uncontrolled rivaling forces but, above all, the plan should determine the basic features of national economic development."

The economist, Lenin taught, should look ahead, toward technical progress. The material foundation for the development for the activeness and initiative of the working people under the conditions of large-scale scientifically organized and planned production, is not found in the least in the status of group owner. It is based on qualitatively new production forces created by the contemporary stage of the scientific and technical revolution, radically changing the status of man in the production process.

Literally in the past few years, as a result of the development of microelectronics, the so-called "information technologies," and flexible production systems, gradually yet steadily the technological socialization of labor has reached a level at which the demands of the production process concerning the very personality of the worker change qualitatively. Forecasts of the future enslavement of man by the machine have proved to be an entirely formal transfer of the conditions of machine-conveyer belt production to the technology of the future, when tested. Conversely, Marx's forecast on the trends of development of the factory division of labor is confirmed: "...The moment a specific development stops the need for universality and aspiration toward the all-round development of the individual become apparent" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 160).

The time is past when the production process needed man as a "bolt," as a thoughtless executor of decisions made without his knowledge and participation. Contemporary industrial production, which combines scientific developments, designing, manufacturing of individual parts and assemblies, assembling finished items, their storage, transportation and marketing and the management of all such processes within a single flexible and efficiently reorganized automated complex, demands from all its participants an active and creative attitude toward their work, conscious study of the content of technological processes and direct participation in decision making, thus upgrading the level of their autonomy and responsibility.

The broader the single production complex is, and the more comprehensive and extensive the technological ties become among its individual units, the more the direct participation of the workers in management will go beyond the limit of their specific production link, brigade, shop or enterprise. Today it is necessary for the processes occurring on all levels of the unified production complex to become increasingly "transparent" for all participants. Such "transparency" must apply to both the lower and higher levels. All-round control must go not only downwards but upwards as well.

In somewhat different features said trends also are manifested in agriculture. In the course of the systematic implementation of the party's agrarian policy, with increasing agroindustrial integration agricultural labor is becoming a variety of industrial labor and, in terms of his social aspect, the rural worker becomes similar to the contemporary industrial worker.

The tasks of accelerating scientific and technical progress cannot be resolved without reducing the share of manual labor in production and the complete elimination of monotonous and hard physical and unskilled labor. The requirements concerning the general and professional standards of the workers are becoming increasingly strict. "The revolutionary changes in production forces," the draft new edition of the CPSU program stipulated, "lead to increasing the share of mental work in the activities of the broadest possible worker and kolkhoz-member masses." On the other hand, as the draft noted, in connection with the growing application of science in production, people engaged in mental work are reinforcing the ranks of the working class. As a result of such converging processes, and as the real socialization of production is intensified on the basis of the latest technology, a progressive detachment, the nucleus of the contemporary working class, takes shape. It includes workers engaged in productive physical and mental labor, united in large industrial production organizations with proper discipline and the use of contemporary technological processes requiring high level of concentration of efforts and coordination of labor activities as well as high cultural standards. Naturally, today by no means have all strata and members of the working class reached the socioeconomic level of their advanced detachment. However, it is precisely from this detachment that we should judge the contemporary working class as a whole and its real strength and historical possibilities. The opposite approach, which judges the working class on the basis of individual backward members, who belong to the working class only pro forma, is nonhistorical and expresses a philistine view of social life. Lenin's familiar demand "to define the concept of 'worker' in such a way that it apply only to those who adopt a proletarian mentality by the very fact of their status in life, which is impossible without having worked a number of years in a factory, without any secondary objectives but in accordance with the general conditions of economic and social life" is addressed precisely against such views (op. cit., vol 45, p 20).

The further expansion of the leading nucleus of the working class, which bears the features of the working people in a classless society, reinforcing its ranks with members of ever new categories of workers, peasants and intellectuals, developing its best fundamental qualities and gradually widening it to encompass the entire society, will essentially constitute a process of elimination of classes and of establishing a classless structure of socialist society. The disappearance of classes means not their chaotic "shifting" among themselves but the conversion of all working people, who have overthrown and eliminated their exploiters, to the objective positions of the working class, becoming similar to the working class in terms of the trends which govern its development. This will lead to the implementation of Engels' scientific prognosis on the historical mission and destiny of the working class: "...A time must come when it will no longer be a class, when it will encompass the entire society" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 19, p 296).

The conversion of all toiling strata to the the positions of the working class will create an essentially new broad social base for the further development of the political system of Soviet society. At the present stage, the strategic line followed in this development is that of improving Soviet democracy and ensuring the increasing socialist self-management by the people in which the administration of social affairs takes place not only in the interest of the working people but is accomplished by the working people themselves. This is achieved through their extensive involvement in daily and efficient participation in the work of the soviets of people's deputies and the people's control bodies, and the expansion of the role and influence of trade unions, the Komsomol and cooperative and other social organizations. The labor collectives play a special role in the development of Soviet democracy. As is the case with economics, where the center of gravity of all practical economic work is shifted to the labor collectives, their role in sociopolitical affairs is enhanced as well.

The vanguard role of the Soviet working class in the development of socialist self-management is determined not only by the fact that it constitutes the majority of the people and dominates the labor collectives. Here its organization, discipline, class, labor and political training and principlemindedness, decisiveness and directness play the main role. The active life stance of the conscious workers must be extended to our entire society and become its main "nonmaterial capital." To this effect not only the economic status of the working class but its revolutionary ideology and morality and its collectivistic and internationalist mentality and interests and views determine the character of every Soviet person. The social and spiritual transformation of the frontranking detachments of the working class in the course of building socialism and communism must become the social standard for all working people.

The working class, Lenin pointed out, has "revolutionary idealism," i.e., the ability not to remain confined to its narrow professional and shop interests but to keep close to its heart the hopes and expectations of all oppressed and poor people, and to share with them their pain and anger, selflessly and dedicatedly to support and head any thrust of the revolutionary process and any movement of working people and exploited masses toward their liberation. It is this "idealism," i.e., the aspiration toward the progressive ideals of mankind, that determines the entire outlook of the working class.

Its scientific Marxist-Leninist ideology is based on total human knowledge. It inherits and develops all superior results of philosophical, economic and sociopolitical thinking. Its political awareness is based on observation and direct participation in the interrelationship among all classes in contemporary society and all manifestations of societal, mental, moral and political life. Its culture is developed from the processing and developing of anything valuable created by the history of mankind. The collectivistic, humanistic and active morality of the working class concentrates within itself the best moral norms born of the centuries-old struggle against exploitation and for freedom, social equality, happiness and peace.

Such a broad life-stance and political and ideological position and openness to all achievements of the human genius are inherent only to the working

class, whose objective is the abolition of all classes and no longer being a class itself. Such openness, however, does not mean omnivorousness.

Under the conditions of the aggravated ideological struggle in the international arena, the party directs the Soviet people to assessing social phenomena from clear class-oriented positions and defending the ideals and spiritual values of socialist society. Here as well we need not abstract instruction by the conscious conversion of all working people to the ideological positions of the working class. The ideas of violence, war, parasitism, acquisitiveness, chauvinism, national exclusivity, mysticism and moral permissiveness, however brightly and attractively they are packaged as presented to us, will always be properly rebuffed by the working class, for the working class holds the only accurate class viewpoint. It is the viewpoint of free labor, free not only from exploitation but also from the money-grubbing of the petty owner.

"We frequently say that the personality is shaped through labor," said Hero of Socialist Labor Yu.N. Chumachenko, electric locomotive engineer at the Moscow +reightyard depot. "Unquestionably, this is true. However, the time has come to extend this thought: the fully developed individual can always engage in selfless toil. Without this ability, in my view, no individual is fully developed. What we have is a narrow-minded person, limited by his egotism." To educate the person through work means today to develop him in the image of the best representatives of the contemporary working class, to develop within him a worker's honor, pride and dignity. The great revolutionary and labor traditions of the Soviet working class give us an example to emulate.

With every passing day the Soviet worker confirms the historical truth that the liberation of man is inseparably related to the establishment of social prerequisites for the involvement of masses with creative toil and the manifestation of the unique creative individuality of every person. With every passing day the Soviet worker asserts the new social ties and collectivistic relations of comradely cooperation and mutual aid. His thoughts and action clearly reflect our reality, accomplishments and tasks dictated by the tempestuous 20th century.

The Communist Party is the political force which embodies the leading influence of the working class on the masses. Having become a party of the whole people as the result of building socialism in the USSR, the shifting of all toiling strata to class-proletarian positions and the strengthening of the sociopolitical and ideological unity in Soviet society, it remains, in terms of its class nature and ideology, the party of the working class. This predetermine the revolutionary continuity and class nature of CPSU domestic and foreign policy. The party considers that serving the people is the meaning of all of its activities. Its objectives and tasks express the basic interests and expectations of the Soviet people. The party will continue to act in a spirit of high responsibility to the people, steadily expanding and intensifying its ties with the masses, living with their needs and concerns and consulting with the working people on most important political problems.

The nationwide discussion of the precongress party documents, which were approved at the October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, is nearing its

end. It was held on a broad democratic basis, in a businesslike atmosphere and was distinguished by its constructive and creative nature. It involved the interested participation of millions of workers, kolkhoz members and intellectuals, and party and nonparty members. The Soviet people are discussing the affairs of the country directly, openly and with concern. They energetically support the economic and political steps taken recently and call for the firm and energetic pursuit of the charted course. In obeying this instruction, the party will tirelessly promote in the work of all party organizations and labor collectives a creative approach, practicality, high responsibility and principle-mindedness. The party organizations are coming out of the pregress accountability and election campaign organizationally and ideologically strengthened, discarding whatever prevented them from acting energetically.

As is always the case in crucial moments in the life of socialist society, following Lenin's behest, the party turns first of all to the workers. It highly values the vanguard role of the working class, cares for its trust and support and sees in it the firm foundations for socialism and a force which is able to take a bold initiative and set the example of how nationwide and statewide problems can be formulated and resolved. "...At decisive turns in history," M.S. Gorbachev wrote, "the Soviet working class, the revolutionary and innovative class, knows how to lead with its willpower, organization and dedicated work, millions of working people to reaching advanced levels of socioeconomic development." This, unquestionably, will continue to be the case, for the main roads to perfecting socialism go precisely through the activities of the working class. It is precisely in the hands of the working class that the decisive links in the acceleration of economic, sociopolitical and spiritual development may be found.

The working class is a powerful historical force which is the objective carrier of new socioeconomic relations the development of which opens the prospect of communism. It is with this prospect that our party always correlates its policy and economic and social strategy, as it lays a path to the qualitatively new status of Soviet society.

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M.S. GORBACHEV'S ANSWERS TO THE L'HUMANITE INTERVIEW 4 FEBRUARY 1986

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 13-25

[Text] L'HUMANITE, the central organ of the French Communist Party turned to M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, with a number of questions.

On 4 February 1986 M.S Gorbachev received R. Lerois, FCP Central Committee member and political director of L'HUMANITE, J. Streyf, L'HUMANITE's permanent Moscow correspondent, and J. Faure, head of the newspaper's international section.

Following are M.S. Gorbachev's answers to the questions of L'HUMANITE.

Question: Mikhail Sergeyevich, thank you for agreeing to answer the questions of L'HUMANITE. You are the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. This makes your answers to questions related to life in the Soviet Union, asked by the French people, who are under the constant influence of hostile attacks on your country, particularly authoritative. And so, here is the first question: A great deal is being currently said about the fact that the USSR is now entering a stage in its development as important as the one which was started by the October Revolutions. Does this imply that it is a question of a new revolution?

Answer: No, naturally. Posing such a question, I believe, would be incorrect. It would be more accurate, in my view, to say that now, in the 1980s, we set the task of powerfully accelerating the project which was started by the Bolshevik Party nearly 70 years ago.

The October Revolution was a crucial event in the 1000-year history of our state and, in terms of its significance and consequences in the development of all mankind, unique. However, making a revolution is not everything. One must also defend and implement the toiling man's concepts of equality and justice and his social and moral ideals. In other words, it means building a new society which can provide a life worthy of man.

All of this demanded of our people and the party a tremendous amount of work, a real exploit and, sometimes, sacrifices. The civil war and the war against Hitlerite Germany, the profound changes in the countryside, the creation of a

powerful industry, the elimination of illiteracy among the majority of the population, the radical social and cultural reorganization of society and the shaping of essentially new international relations are but a few pages in our overall quite short history.

We are proud of it and this pride is the foundation of Soviet patriotism. Had we not been able to withstand, had we been defeated in even a single one of these accomplishments, everything for the sake of which the October Revolution was made would have been brought into question. Yet, in themselves, each one of these accomplishments can be justifiably described as being truly revolutionary.

The same applies to the problems being resolved today. They are difficult as well as very important. If we fail to resolve them we would depreciate everything which we have achieved in the past at the cost of tremendous efforts, and complicate our future. Possibly, the most difficult yet the most necessary thing for every Soviet communist and for the entire party is to understand fully, in its entirety, and to feel the challenge hurled by our epoch and respond to it properly.

This is a twofold challenge.

On the one hand, Soviet society has entered a new stage in its history. Its essence is that the needs governing the development of production forces, the needs of the people, put on the agenda the question of very seriously restructuring and perfecting many aspects of production relations, economic management methods, and means, methods and style of party and state leadership, i.e., of politics. It is also a question of involving ever broader popular strata in the solution of social affairs and mobilizing their creative capabilities and experience in order to resolve increasingly more difficult problems, i.e., problems of the further development and enrichment of our socialist democracy.

We had felt the need for all of this for quite some time. The essence of what is taking place in the country and, above all, in the party today is decisively to accelerate the socioeconomic and spiritual development of Soviet society, using all available means to this effect. Naturally, this is a revolutionary task.

On the other hand, the challenge of our age stems from the fact that human civilization has, unfortunately, created very efficient means of self-destruction. In order for the worst to happen one does not even have to show stupidity or commit an unprecedented crime. Suffice it to act the way people have been acting for millennia--to rely on weapons and military force in solving international problems and, occasionally, to use them. Today these traditions, thousands of years old, must be mercilessly eliminated and totally rejected. Otherwise the problem of the survival of mankind may prove insoluble. In the nuclear age one cannot live--in any case live long--with the mentality, customs and rules of behavior of the stone age. Is such a sharp turn in international affairs and in foreign policy thinking and practical experience not a profoundly revolutionary task? In my view, that is precisely what it is. As a country which was the first to make a socialist

revolution, we deem it our greatest responsibility and duty comprehensively to assist in solving this problem.

We consider that our program for practical action, which will be discussed and adopted at the 27th CPSU Congress, to be from all points of view a program of a truly revolutionary nature and scale.

Question: What are the most important prospects in the development of the Soviet economy in the next 10-15 years? How will this affect the well-being of the people?

Answer: The prospects will depend on the extent to which we can cope with the problems which have arisen or, in other words, the extent to which we shall be able to do good and skillful work. Let me honestly say that these problems are difficult. We have objective difficulties (the biggest among them are an adverse demographic situation and the arms race imposed upon us). There also are difficulties which are of our own making and which became aggravated as their solution was delayed.

Now, within the shortest possible time, we must accomplish a great deal. We must radically improve planning, management and material incentive and accelerate scientific and technical progress. On this basis we must upgrade the efficiency and quality of economic returns and improve production quality. We intend to double the country's production potential and substantially to change the very appearance of our economy and nature of labor and to reorganize the way of life of the people over the next 15 years.

You are asking how this will affect the well-being of the people. I shall answer that, strictly speaking, it is precisely for the sake of the good of the people that we are doing all of this. Once again, I am referring both to the quantitative and qualitative aspects, i.e., consumption and services, housing, health care, education, social insurance, access to the goods of culture, environmental protection, town and country urbanization, recreation and many others. I shall not conceal that in many of these areas things are by no means what we would like them to be. One of the reasons is that our difficult history did not allow us for a long time to pay proper attention to these areas of life. This was our fault as well--sluggishness, inability or simply the irresponsibility of officials or entire departments and organizations. If you read our press you know how sharply many officials are being criticized for this, including some who are quite highly placed. We have currently firmly undertaken to correct the situation. Naturally, this will take time and a great deal of effort. I am confident, however, that we shall achieve major successes in all such matters. Naturally, all of us would like to accomplish this faster.

One of the most urgent matters is the further saturation of the market with good quality and great variety of goods: new, traditional, expensive, inexpensive, for the young and the old, or, in a word, such as to meet all tastes and needs, naturally, within sensible limits. We consider this an exceptionally important problem.



Question: Are there still waiting lines?

Answer: Yes, particularly for high-quality goods, demand for which is not satisfied.

Let me point out in this connection that not all the ways to resolve this problem are open to us. In your country, in the West, when demand for a commodity exceeds supply, the price goes up. We do not or virtually do not do this, in any case when it applies to goods in mass demand. The result is a shortage which creates waiting lines.

I am saying all of this to explain the problem rather than to justify shortcomings. We firmly insist that shortcomings must not be justified but corrected. That is why we have currently undertaken a serious restructuring of the economy and all economic mechanisms.

Question: Have the Soviet citizens the right and possibility to "oppose" the activities of the "bosses" of their enterprises? And not only to "oppose" them but also to amend their decisions?

Answer: If by "bosses" you mean directors and members of the administration, we have no private owners or private ownership relations. An entire mechanism to protect the rights of the working people was created the very first years of the Soviet system: strict labor legislation, extensive trade union rights and party and soviet control. In recent years the rights of the working people and labor collectives have been substantially broadened. Virtually all major decisions are drafted and adopted with the participation of the workers and after necessary discussions. For example, this applies to the draft plans for the economic and social development of enterprises.

Let me mention in particular the trade unions. They sign collective contracts with administrations and supervise the observance of labor legislation. Should they consider that something is improper, such as the dismissal of workers, problems of wages, housing allocation, etc., they have the opportunity, to use your expression, to "oppose" this quite efficiently. They can even demand the dismissal of one administrator or another. Occasionally this does take place.

However, there is another side to this matter. Not only the administration and the trade union but the labor collective as a whole must set specific requirements for the workers and their discipline, conscientiousness and behavior at work. As a rule, this is done with the full support of the workers. The collective itself is interested in the good work of every one of its members. This too is in the interest of all workers, for it determines their earnings, working conditions and social benefits.

Question: Is unemployment not the inevitable price of production modernization?

Answer: No such connection exists in a planned economy directed at the all-round satisfaction of social requirements. Even if as a result of some basic improvements in the technology the need for entire specialties is eliminated,

we can and must not only anticipate this but also take measures to retrain workers and, if necessary, to create new production facilities. That is precisely what we do. Since the reconstruction of enterprises leads, as a rule, to their expansion, the question of new jobs is resolved at the enterprises themselves. For the time being, however, this question is almost totally academic for us. Above all for the reason that we are experiencing not a surplus but a scarcity of manpower. At the same time, let me honestly point out, there is another reason as well. For the time being we have been slow to modernize, including in areas in which this has become crucial. Be that as it may, the party takes into consideration the social aspect of modernization and deems it exceptionally important in formulating the plans for the country's economic development.

Question: Is the CPSU the "transmission belt" of the state? What is the meaning invested today in your country to the expression "to make policy?"

Answer: In our society the Communist Party is the leading and guiding force. This party status is codified in the constitution. This is not a question of a party as a symbol but as a real, a permanent political organization with nearly 20 million members among the most active workers, peasants and intellectuals. The organizations democratically elect their leading bodies and managers and hold them strictly accountable. Today we are trying to upgrade the activeness of all party collectives. We believe this to be one of the efficient instruments for broadening democracy and involving millions of people in the solution of production, public and political problems. I believe that the party's work under contemporary conditions will be among the most important problems discussed at the forthcoming congress.

The party is in charge of formulating the strategy and tactics of building the new society, implementing cadre policy and ensuring the ideological upbringing of the people. The party committees on all levels, including the Central Committee, act as political management bodies. The party is profoundly interested in the active work of all units within our political system. It supports and assists the soviets, the trade unions, the Komsomol and the other mass organizations, seeing to it that each one of them perform its functions to the fullest extent.

You asked the meaning we invest in the expression "to make policy" Let me point out that we do not use this expression. We refer to drafting policy, formulating policy, implementing policy. In my view, this is a more accurate description of this matter, at least in our understanding.

Therefore, as I already pointed out, it is above all the party which is responsible for the formulation of policy, beginning with the study of the objective situation, the needs of society and the mood of the public. (incidentally, our party closely studies and takes fully into consideration public opinion). It is on this basis, after the necessary discussions, that political decisions are made. This process is, naturally, complex and takes different aspects, depending on the nature of the problems. Frequently decision making is preceded by extensive and sometimes nationwide discussion and, perhaps, comparisons and clashes among viewpoints on various problems. Such is the case with the discussion of the draft 5-year plans. Such was the

case with the constitution, labor and housing legislation the reform in education and, most recently, the law on the struggle against drunkenness and alcoholism.

The main thing in a political process is the implementation of decisions, for without this there is no policy. If you followed the discussion which developed in the country after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, you could not have failed to note that we ascribe particular importance to unity between words and actions.

We decisively fight for actions to be consistent with words. We use the weapon of criticism. We use the weapon of publicity and the weapon of discipline.

Question: It is frequently heard that Soviet youth is uninterested in politics and is socially inert. Is this true?

Answer: It is our ill-wishers in the West who say this. Let me bluntly say that they are passing their wishes as reality. We have no reasons whatsoever to complain about our youth. As a whole, it is distinguished by its high civic-mindedness, profound interest in social affairs and great interest in domestic and foreign policy. The young people are proving themselves quite well at plants, kolkhozes, VUZs and the armed forces. I dare say that they willingly, on their own free will, enthusiastically go to work wherever the situation is the most difficult, at the major construction projects in Siberia, in the north of the country and the Far East. Currently half a million young volunteers are working at such construction projects. In a word, I cannot agree in the least with the statement that Soviet youth is inert and passive. We have complete political confidence in our new generation.

Naturally, this is not to say that no problems and questions exist here. They do. For example, we were seriously concerned by the fact that alcoholism had become widespread among some young people. Parasitical and consumerist moods, a low taste, narrowness of spiritual interests and insufficient mastery of the cultural heritage are phenomena which are also encountered. We are quite well aware of them and, naturally, do not ignore them. This offers a broad area of activities for the Komsomol. Generally speaking, it has long been known that example teaches much better than even the most eloquent sermon. I believe that everything currently being done in the country and in the party will be quite useful from the viewpoint of youth education.

Question: There is talk of the persecution of Jews in the USSR, political prisoners and censorship. Specific names are also mentioned, such that of Sakharov. What can you say about this?

Answer: Let me start with Soviet Jews. This question has become part of an unrestrained anti-Soviet campaign, a real psychological warfare waged on the USSR. In our country the propaganda of anti-Semitism and other forms of racial discrimination are banned by law. They are a crime. That which happens in the United States quite frequently, as well as in France and in other Western countries--desecrating Jewish cemeteries, activities of neo-Nazi

organizations, which preach hatred of the Jews in newspapers and on the radio, is impossible in the USSR. In our country Jews are as free and equal as the people of any other nationality. They are active participants in the country's social and governmental life. Books, journals and newspapers are published in the Yiddish language and synagogues are working in our country. In my view, the persistent "attention" which anticommunist and Zionist propaganda pays to the fate of Jews in the USSR is nothing other than hypocrisy, which is pursuing far-reaching political objectives which have nothing in common with the true interests of Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality.

In my view, there should be no place for anti-Semitism, Zionism or any other manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism and racism in a civilized society. The question of uprooting such ills on a global scale is quite topical. In South Africa the racist are engaged in bloody repressive measures against the black majority of the population. Pogroms and harassment of Africans, Indians, Turks and immigrants from other Asian countries, have become more frequent in Western Europe. In the United States, in recent years racism has clearly mounted a counteroffensive. Furthermore, for how many years, and for what well-known reasons, have the Arab people of Palestine remained an exile?

As to political prisoners: We have no such prisoners anymore than we persecute citizens for their convictions. In our country people are not tried for their convictions.

However, any country has the duty to defend itself against those who make criminal attempts against it, who call for undermining or destroying it or, finally, who spy for foreign intelligence services. Our laws qualify such actions as state crimes. Of late, as I have been informed, slightly more than 200 people are serving sentences in the USSR for a variety of such crimes.

About Sakharov. I have already had the opportunity to answer a similar question, for which reason I shall be brief. As we know, he committed illegal actions. This has been frequently reported in the press. Steps consistent with our legislation were taken in his case.

The actual current situation is as follows. Sakharov lives in Gorkiy, under normal circumstances, engaged in scientific work and remaining a full member of the USSR Academy of Sciences. To the best of my knowledge, he is in good health.

His wife recently went abroad for medical treatment. As to Sakharov himself, he remains the bearer of secrets of particular national importance, for which reason he cannot go abroad.

About censorship: we do have censorship. Its task is to block the publication in the press of governmental and military secrets and to prevent the propaganda of war, violence, cruelty, insults to individuals and pornography. The choice of works to be published and their editing, abridging, etc., is a matter for the mass information media and publishing houses themselves, for their editors and editorial councils. All I can add to this is that in one aspect or another, such censorship exists in all

countries. In your country, for example, it is the owners of newspapers and publishing houses or the editors they hire who determine what to print and what not to print. People can be tried for slander or for revealing state secrets, not to mention the practice widespread in the United States of removing books from school libraries under the pressure of reactionary groups, including, as was reported at the latest congress of the Pen Club, books by writers such as Dostoyevskiy, Hemingway and even Dickens, not to mention the "Diary of Anne Frank." These are facts and, as we know, facts are stubborn things.

It is a pity that in France and, generally, in the West, there is such little familiarity with the Soviet press, television and radio. Freedom of speech and criticism is quite extensive in our country. Open and sometimes rather sharp debates take place. This is particularly obvious now, on the eve of the congress. Honestly speaking, I consider hypocritical the mounting of loud campaigns, the purpose of which is to "prove" that the USSR (read socialism in general) is a society in which monotony, official unanimity of thought, etc., predominates.

In our country an active life stance and struggle against injustice and violations of legality and social morality is a behavioral standard codified in the constitution which gives every citizen the right to criticize. Furthermore, those who hinder criticism, who, in my view, are quite frequently described in rather soft terms as "suppressors of criticism," break the law. An official, whatever his position, can be even tried in court for such actions. Our press, radio and television may not be perfect. As a whole, however, they are a broad and free rostrum for public opinion.

Question: The question is frequently asked in various Western circles: Have the vestiges of Stalinism been surmounted in the Soviet Union?

Answer: "Stalinism" is a concept invented by the opponents of communism and extensively used to defame the Soviet Union and socialism as a whole.

Thirty years have passed since the question of surmounting the cult of Stalin's personality was raised and a CPSU Central Committee decree on this problem was promulgated at the 20th Party Congress. Let us bluntly say that these were not easy decisions for our party. This was a test of party principle-mindedness and loyalty to Leninism.

I believe that we withstood this trial honorably and drew the necessary conclusions from the past. This applies to the life of the party itself and to Soviet society at large. We consider our most important task to be the further development of intraparty democracy and socialist democracy in general, and strengthening the principles of collectivity in work and the broadening of publicity. The party and its Central Committee demand modesty of the people elected to leading positions. They encourage in the party members intolerance of flattery and toadiness. We ascribe and will continue to ascribe tremendous importance to the maintaining and strengthening socialist legality and will always maintain strict control over law enforcement authorities. All of these are major trends in political work

currently carried out by our party. Such concern and our entire life today convincingly answer your question.

Question: How will the processes currently taking place in your country affect cultural life in the USSR with which, incidentally, the West is poorly familiar?

Answer: It is true that the West is very poorly acquainted with our cultural life. Quite frankly, some people in the West make use of this situation, simply cramming forgeries in the minds of the people and distorting the true situation.

The Soviet Union is currently experiencing a period of noticeable cultural upsurge. We number among our contemporaries many outstanding writers, poets, composers, painters, actors and opera, ballet, drama and motion-picture directors. They are outstanding in global rather than only domestic terms. In our country literature and art are the domain not of a handful of experts and patrons but of the huge popular masses. Classical and contemporary poetry and prose--both Soviet and foreign and, naturally, French--are published in the Soviet Union in editions unparalleled elsewhere. The most outstanding phenomenon of our cultural life, however, is the extensive development of people's artistic creativity.

It is on this level, I believe, that the changes which are taking place in the life of our society will unquestionably have a beneficial influence on Soviet culture.

Our country has everything necessary to ensure its further rapid development and comprehensive blossoming: the level of education of the broad masses, the excellent traditions of profound respect, interest and attraction for spiritual values, access to the entire wealth and variety of our country's multinational culture and, finally, the policy of the party, which considers the development of the spiritual life of society one of its highest priorities. We are currently also thinking of significantly strengthening the material base of culture and the entire spiritual area.

Question: May we now turn to international problems. Could the American "star wars" plans lead to war? After the Geneva summit do you note any new signs of the restoration of detente in international relations?

Answer: You have asked two questions.

First, on the American "star wars" program. It is our deep conviction that this program truly increases the threat of war and, at some stage, could make it likely. The grounds for such a conclusion have been mentioned frequently and in sufficient detail. Let me draw attention merely to one aspect of the problem. Although the implementation of this entire "star wars" plan is scheduled to take decades and although only a handful of "enthusiasts" believe in its possible realization, it would lead to rather serious consequences in the very near future, should the United States persist in this matter. The question is that by implementing the "star wars" program Washington is essentially deliberately wrecking current talks and voiding all exiting

accords on armament limitations. In such a case, in the next few years the USSR, the United States, their allies and the entire world would find themselves in an absolutely uncontrollable arms race, strategic chaos, most dangerous undermining of stability and a universal insecurity and fear of catastrophe, related to such an increase in the risk. This, I repeat, is a danger which threatens not our grandchildren but ourselves, all of us, all mankind.

What is the purpose of this risk? I assume that, President Reagan personally believes in the "salutary" mission of "star wars." However, if the purpose of all of this is to put an end to the nuclear threat, why would the United States not agree in principle with the latest proposal of the USSR, which calls for a much shorter, direct, inexpensive and, above all, safe way to eliminate the nuclear threat: the total elimination of nuclear weapons. I emphasize the word safer, for the path currently suggested by the United States leading to this objective is hopeless and, the assertions of "star wars" supporters notwithstanding, nuclear weapons will not simply "age" but, conversely, will be perfected. Matters could become so difficult that a solution would have to be entirely reassigned to computers and automatic machines. This will make human civilization the hostage of machines and, therefore, of technical faults and breakdowns the danger of which was confirmed yet once again by the recent tragedy with the American Challenger space ship, which was reliable and repeatedly tested and tried to the limits of today's possibilities.

I am confident that this is well understood in Washington as well and that in that city also there would be a minimum of ten cynics per "believer" in such a surrealistic plan for salvation from the nuclear threat, cynics who have in mind something entirely different from what, obviously, President Reagan speaks and dreams about. For example, realizing that "an impenetrable shield" cannot be created, some of them are willing to accept a lesser, a limited antimissile defense which, combined with the means of a preemptive strike at the retaliatory forces of the other side, would create the possibility of launching a nuclear aggression with impunity. Others are simply after profits. Others again would like to undermine the Soviet economy by involving the USSR in a space arms race. Some would like to increase the technological advance of the United States over Western Europe and thus make the latter dependent.... and so on.

Therefore, the question of "star wars" is rather broad. In this case we have a clash not only between views on this specific program but also between two approaches, two concepts of security.

The American concept is one of ensuring security above all through military-technical means and, in this case, through new "superweapons," through a technical trick which would make it possible to come out of the nuclear dead end. Despite the rather vague and ridiculously implausible talks of the readiness to share the "technological miracle" with other countries (including the USSR) "at the proper time," what the United States wants in order to come out of this dead end is to achieve absolute security for itself while putting all others in a position of "absolute danger."

The Soviet concept is one of ensuring equal security for all through a reduction of armaments and disarmament, including the total elimination of all types of mass destruction weapons, for in our time there can be no security for the USSR without security for the United States and security for the Warsaw Pact without security for NATO. Yet without such reciprocal security no universal security is possible.

In answer to your question, let me particularly single out the question of freeing Europe from nuclear weapons, above all from medium-range missiles, which are seriously undermining European security. Here a well we are justified in relying on the realism and prudence of British and, naturally, French policy.

The supporters of nuclear armaments are using the argument that the elimination of such weapons would leave the West "helpless" in the face of Soviet "superiority" in the area of so-called conventional weapons. I shall not argue at this point whether such "superiority" exists or not. What matters is something else: our suggestions also call for reducing such armaments and for strengthening measure of confidence. We did not call for putting an end to nuclear weapons simply for the sake of shifting the arms race to other areas, which, in time, will become no less dangerous.

We realize that the implementation of our concept of security will demand a tremendous effort, work, a stubborn struggle and the break of thousand-year old traditions which I already mentioned. However, the world can simply not continue to live and act as before under the real threat of nuclear war.

Is a world without weapons, a world without war possible at all? I could answer this question with another question: is it conceivable to safeguard human civilization by steadily pursuing an accelerated arms race, intensifying tension and balancing on a steadily narrowing brink of war?

Have there been noticeable symptoms of resumption of detente in international relations after the Geneva summit? In my view, caution should be displayed in making an assessment. Yes, some features are beginning to appear. It is not merely a question of individual moves in the area of Soviet-American relations: they are rather limited and peripheral, and do not affect basic problems. However, a certain change in the political atmosphere is already being felt. This has restored in many nations the hope and faith in the possibility of a return to detente, a halt in the senseless arms race and the development of normal and peaceful international cooperation. This is something real and politically essential.

The change in political atmosphere is helping us, is helping the Soviet Union to approach more daringly and decisively the formulation of new proposals and new initiatives. I am sometimes asked the following: can the Soviet Union trust that the present U.S. administration and the governments of some countries allied with it would agree to the new Soviet proposals such as, for example, a total ban on nuclear explosions, gradual elimination of nuclear weapons in Europe and in the rest of the world, prevention of the arms race in space, etc.?



The question is legitimate. However, politics, in the nuclear century in particular, cannot be based on the principle of does one trust one's partner in general or not. A policy must be structured on real foundations, taking into consideration the deployment of forces in the international arena, the needs of the time, the interest of one's people and of other peoples, and the interests of universal peace. Since such is the case, as a socialist state, the Soviet Union is simply obligated to offer to the world a radical alternative to nuclear war and a program for resolving problems facing all mankind, which would be realistic and take into consideration the interests of all nations. Such proposals are in the nature of "moments of truth." They force our partners in the talks to drop their masks and to indicate the true purposes of their policies. When we suggested a moratorium on nuclear explosions we were told that we were sly, having conducted during that year extensive tests (which, incidentally, was not true) and now are asking the United States to halt such tests. However, this is the 7th consecutive month during which we have had no tests. Now the United States as well can no longer use this pretext. It then raised the question of control and verification. We expressed readiness for all verification measures. This pretext as well was dropped. What is left? Is it not exclusively the U.S. resolve to pursue the arms race at all costs?

V.I. Lenin's Decree on Peace (which, incidentally, was the very first decree of the new Soviet system) expressed the firm intention of the first socialist state in history to pursue a policy and act "openly in front of the entire nation," and to address its suggestions "to the governments and peoples" and "help the peoples to intervene in problems of war and peace." "We," Lenin said, in submitting the draft of this decree to the Congress of Soviets, "are struggling against the deception of governments which keep talking about peace and justice whereas in fact engage in predatory wars of conquest" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, pp 15-17). He also said, bearing in mind relations between the land of the soviets and the capitalist states, that "we do not dare, we must not give governments the opportunity to hide behind our intransigence and to conceal from the peoples the reason for which they are sending them to the slaughter. ...Ultimata would ease the situation of our opponents. We intend to present all conditions to the people. We shall formulate to all governments our conditions and let them answer to their own nations" (ibid., p. 20).

Such is the principle-minded communist formulation of the problem. I deliberately recalled these Leninist words and principles. A deep similarity exists between the situation then and now. In 1917, in the midst of World War I, the main problem was how to end sooner the bloodshed imposed on the peoples by the imperialist governments. V.I. Lenin and the party decided that the most efficient way was to address themselves not only to the governments but the peoples as well. Today the peoples of the world are involved in the arms race, in a nuclear rivalry, which is raising the threat of an even more terrible slaughter. Naturally, as we work persistently and painstakingly on resolving these problems with the Western governments, we also turn to the peoples, we inform them of our policy.

Question: Are there reasons to hope for an end to the war in Afghanistan in the immediate future and, consequently, for the withdrawal of Soviet forces from that country?

Answer: We would like this very much and will do everything possible to achieve it. As we know, the Afghan government stands on the same position. It is prepared to go quite a distance to settle the difficult problems of the country's domestic development and actively to involve the various political forces in the center and the provinces in organizing life, including representatives of tribes, the clergy, the intelligentsia and business circles.

Nevertheless, not everything here depends on the Afghan government. Involved in this conflict and resulting from outside interference, are forces interested in extending and broadening it: Pakistan and the United States. Western Europe as well could influence the course of events. I believe that if these forces would soberly assess the situation in Afghanistan and around it and, naturally, consider their own interests and the interests of universal peace, means of assisting in the solution of the problem could be found.

Question: Could Soviet-French relations be improved and what would this necessitate?

Answer: Naturally, they could. I would even say that they must be improved. The Soviet Union favors extensive cooperation with France and friendship between the Soviet and French peoples. Differences between the USSR and France are by no means obstacles to agreements and cooperation. This is our firm, long-time and principle-minded position. We consider improvements in reciprocal understanding and organization of cooperation between the USSR and France important in terms of the basic interest of our countries: strengthening peace in Europe and throughout the world and improving the international situation.

The purpose of the summit meeting in Paris, in the autumn of 1985, was to give a new impetus to Soviet-French relations. Something has already been achieved of late. From our viewpoint, however, major unused opportunities remain. I would like to hope that our countries will become active partners in resolving problems on a historical scale, such as curbing the arms race and the total elimination of nuclear weapons and other mass destruction weapons and preventing the creation of offensive space armaments.

Considering their large scientific and technical and intellectual potential and experience, the Soviet Union and France could set a good example of cooperation in science and technology. In addition to the further development of trade and economic relations this, incidentally, could help to a certain extent solve the French employment problem.

Historically, the situation has developed in such a way that Soviet-French relations have traditionally been based on the mutual sympathy and respect of the two peoples for each other. This makes even more puzzling to us the stubborn aspiration on the part of some circles in your country to develop

among the French people dislike of and mistrust in the Soviet Union and to create a false image of our country and its policy. We are grateful to the French communists and to L'HUMANITE for opposing anti-Sovietism and telling the truth about the Soviet Union and about socialism. We consider this one of the important forms of solidarity between the FCP and our party.

The communist movement is strong precisely because of such solidarity--solidarity in fact--of all its member parties, which are equal and independent, which operate under different conditions and resolve different problems, while remaining united in the common struggle for the interests of the toiling masses and for peace and socialism.

In conclusion, I would like to send warm greetings and good wishes to the readers of L'HUMANITE, to the French communists and to all French working people.

In the course of the presentation of the answers to the French comrades, a warm and comradely talks was held between M.S. Gorbachev and R. Lerois.

R. Lerois: I would like to thank you for the straightforwardness and frankness with which you answered our questions. The topics they cover are of great interest to the French people, who are short of objective information. I must regretfully note that the French mass information media are pursuing currently, in their majority, a sharply anti-Soviet line.

M.S. Gorbachev: In their contacts with us, members of different French circles, including the president, have mentioned the traditionally friendly nature of our relations and the fact that they are rooted in history. They have emphasized the aspiration to preserve such relations and to give them a new meaning. Such is our position as well. We are in favor of maintaining traditional friendly relations with France and are doing everything we can to develop good Soviet-French relations. Against the background of all this we find it hard to understand why a campaign unfriendly to the USSR has become so widespread in France.

Or else consider, for example, the fact that recently several members of the Soviet embassy were expelled from France for allegedly engaging in inadmissible activities. Once again the ghost of "Soviet spies" is roaming in France. Naturally, this is a totally unfounded act carried out under a fictitious pretext. Suffice it to mention, for example, that one of those accused of "inadmissible contacts" was a technical official who worked exclusively within the confines of the embassy, had no contacts whatsoever with foreigners and did not even speak a foreign language. All of this cannot fail to puzzle us. What are the political considerations behind all of this? Is this done for reasons of domestic policy or what?

As I already mentioned in my discussions with President Mitterrand, we sincerely try to make Soviet-French relations very dynamic and to cooperate with France and its people and political forces on problems of common interest to both our countries. However, this does not mean that we shall not react to unfriendly acts toward our country. Thus, in this case as well, we must take adequate responsive steps.

It would be erroneous to believe that the Soviet Union is more interested in having good relations with France than France is in having good relations with the Soviet Union. I believe that both countries are mutually interested in preserving and developing reciprocal good relations.

R. Lerois: Obviously, the French people are particularly interested in a rapprochement and cooperation with the Soviet Union.

M.S. Gorbachev: In pursuing our foreign policy, we always take into consideration the interest of France and its people. This is confirmed by our recent suggestions, formulated in my 15 January 1986 declaration.

Incidentally, in formulating our suggestions, we deem it natural to take into consideration the legitimate interests not only of France but also, let us say, of the United States, our partner. Otherwise such proposals would not be realistic.

In my discussions with President Mitterrand I mentioned and would like to repeat now that we do not have even the slightest intention of harming French security. In our recent proposals we proceeded from the fact that France, like Great Britain, would join the process of nuclear disarmament only when significant reductions in nuclear weapons have been made by the United States and the Soviet Union. For the time being, we would like to hope that while the arsenals of American and Soviet weapons are being reduced, France and Great Britain will not continue to increase their nuclear power.

R. Lerois: We are following with interest the preparations for your 27th Party Congress.

M.S. Gorbachev: At our congress we shall thoroughly indicate the way in which we intend to bring to light in our country ever more extensively the possibilities of socialism and to realize its potential. I believe that this will be our contribution to the common struggle waged by the communists for a better and a just society. We shall continue to pursue an active foreign policy in defending the cause of a durable peace and aspire to the elimination of nuclear weapons on earth. Naturally, this is very important also in the sense that it characterizes the firm support of the cause of peace by socialism.

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## TOWARDS THE 27TH PARTY CONGRESS--DISCUSSION OF CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE DRAFTS

### REVIEWING MILITANCY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 26-35

[Article by R. Vid]

[Text] The Maritime Kray shares with the rest of the country an intensive and rich life. What is its current contribution to the solution of nationwide problems and what must be done to make the efforts for the further advancement of all aspects of the socialist society maximally energetic and businesslike? In discussing such topical problems, the participants in the 21st Maritime Kray Party Conference concentrated on problems of public production intensification, upgrading the social activeness of the working people and the communist upbringing of the people.

Not much was said at the conference about successes, not because, naturally, they were all too modest during the period under consideration. There were achievements and they were properly rated: during the 11th 5-Year Plan the Maritime Kray earned on three occasions the Red Challenge Banner of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee for successes achieved in the all-union socialist competition. In concentrating on unsolved problems and criticizing defects and omissions in the work, the speakers persistently tried to consolidate the psychological mood of comprehensive acceleration of the country's socioeconomic progress and achieving a qualitatively new status of the society, which were established in the party after the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum. The study of the activities of the primary party organizations, the party committees in industrial and agricultural enterprises and the CPSU raykoms and gorkoms in the Maritime area, which I was able to visit in the course of my assignment, offered additional proof of the fact that the majority of people in Maritime Kray consider this to be the only proper approach.

Naturally, the tone of the discussion held at the conference was set by the accountability report of the Maritime CPSU Kraykom, submitted by D. Gagarov, its first secretary, and the report submitted by V. Safronov, second kraykom secretary, on the tasks of the kray party organization, based on the draft Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000. "Today we must carry out the main instruction of the party members who elected us delegates to this conference: to find out in detail who does not work at full capacity and why, and how to

tighten up the weak links in order to avoid shifting the old burden of shortcomings to the new 5-year plan," the accountability report emphasized. I believe that the proceedings of the conference were entirely consistent with this serious and important objective.

#### Incentives for Activeness

Understandably, the main topic of the accountability report was that of the party-political management of the economic and social development of the kray. Most generally, what were the results of the efforts of the Maritime party members and the Kray CPSU Committee in this most important area of work? The main conclusion drawn at the conference was that during the period under accountability the kray's economy began to develop dynamically, that the growth rates of public production were accelerated and that quality indicators improved.

The results have been quite encouraging. In 1984-1985 the kray's industry achieved an increase in the volume of output equivalent to the increase achieved during the first 3 years of the 5-year plan and fulfilled its 5-year plan considerably ahead of schedule. This was achieved essentially as a result of higher labor productivity. Goods worth 390 million rubles were produced over and above the annual plan for the 5-year period. The growth rates of construction work as well exceeded the level reached in the first 3 years. All transport enterprises overfulfilled their freight hauling plans.

The rural working people improved their work as well. They were able significantly to reduce their shortfalls which had occurred in the first years of the 5-year plan (with substantial help by sponsoring organizations, it is true) for the production of meat, milk, honey and furs and to surmount the lack and fulfill their 5-year plan for potato growing. Currently population needs are satisfied fully for potatoes and eggs and largely for vegetables and meat and dairy products produced locally. We must bear in mind that fish is a substantial part of the nutrition of the Maritime population: its per-capita consumption here is higher by a factor of almost 2.5 compared with the national average.

The well-being of the working people in Maritime Kray improved as well. In the course of the 5-year period the wages of workers and employees increased by 13 percent and the average kolkhoz member wage by 24 percent. In 1985 the average wage of workers and employees in Maritime Kray was 239 rubles. Social consumption funds increased as well. In the past 2 years alone approximately 30,000 apartments were built with a total (useful) area of 1.8 million square meters. Consumer goods production increased by 17 percent. Currently the percentage of consumer goods produced by Maritime Kray enterprises accounts for 92 percent of the overall trade in the kray. A total of some 40 million rubles was spent for the construction of health care projects.

Therefore, Maritime Kray is substantially advancing in many areas of socioeconomic development. However, this is by no means a smooth process. Almost one out of eight enterprises systematically fails to fulfill its plans for labor productivity; one out of three enterprises does not fulfill its plan for commodity procurements and one out of five for production costs. The

construction workers did not use the full amount of capital investment funds appropriated for the 11th 5-Year Plan and were unable to complete a number of important kray projects. The agricultural workers remain in debt to the state, having failed to fulfill their plan for the sale of many valuable products. The plan for trade and consumer services was not fulfilled in Maritime Kray between 1982 and 1985. Today output per ruble of industrial capital assets is approximately 25 percent below the national average; the indicator drops to 32 percent in agriculture. In construction capital returns did not exceed three-quarters of the 1980 level.

Naturally, the speaker could not analyze all the reasons for breakdowns in the kray's public production. Furthermore, the solution of many crucial economic problems is beyond the scope of the kraykom's competence. However, the work of the kray's party committees during the period under accountability was considered thoroughly and self-critically.

The pivot of this work was the 1984 review of the militancy of the primary party organizations, under the slogan "Completing the 11th 5-Year Plan Requires Specific Organizational Work and Highly Productive Toil!" Above all, the review made it possible to strengthen the decisive production sectors with party members: party ranks were significantly reinforced in construction, agriculture, light industry and railroad transport. The party stratum among brigade leaders, foremen, technicians and secondary level specialists increased by more than 10 percent. An additional 130 party groups and 64 shop and primary party organizations were created.

The CPSU kraykom also undertook the more efficient demarcating among the functions of party, soviet and economic bodies and improving their work style. A single rule for such work was established for all levels: the number of staffs and commissions was reduced and the system of organization of the socialist competition, in which the emphasis was on indicators consistent with intensification purposes, was streamlined. Monthly forecasting of the implementation of plans by sector, rayon and city was introduced during the accountability period, which makes possible the more efficient prevention of lagging and breakdowns. As a result, the party's influence on economic development significantly increased, the principle of unity among organizational, economic and ideological activities is being observed more firmly and the center of gravity of all party-political work is being systematically shifted to the labor collectives.

The stipulations of the review were initially applied only to the primary party organizations in traditionally "difficult" sectors--agriculture, construction and the light and food industries. Gradually, however, the party organizations in other sectors began to adopt them on a voluntary basis.

The first stage of the review involved the participation of 781 primary and 1,277 shop organizations and 2,027 party groups. In March 1985, taking into consideration the wishes of the party members, the 9th Kraykom Plenum expanded the review, thus including party organizations of railroad workers and at enterprises within the fuel and energy complex and housing-communal services, as a result of which another 209 primary and 232 shop party organizations and 356 party groups totaling more than 10,000 people joined in the creative

search for ways to energize party work. All in all, one out of three primary party organizations and almost every second shop party organization as well as some 2,500 party groups participated in the review.

A trip to Mikhaylovskiy Rayon, which was a base area for the review in animal husbandry, enable me to study more closely the practical forms and methods of this work.

"Initially, honestly speaking, no clear concept of the essence of this initiative existed in the local areas," A. Yefimov, Mikhaylovskiy CPSU Raykom first secretary said. "Many secretaries expressed doubts concerning the formalism of this initiative. Now, they have become truly involved in this review, for they can see that the results are actual rather than on paper. Above all, it energized the people. We have held discussions with virtually every party and candidate-party member; simply stated, we discussed frankly the way they personally conceived their role in the implementation of the Food Program, what concerned and what displeased them in their work and the work of the collective and, finally, what made them indignant. We discussed the most vital features, above all the responsibility of the party members for their work sector. Remarks were voiced frankly, in a comradely fashion, and many of them were addressed at us. Both sides benefited...."

Everything related to the review of the militancy of the party organizations is scrupulously recorded, summed up and supervised by the party raykom. Remarks and suggestions are closely studied. Their essence is determined and what steps were taken and if no steps were taken, why not, are noted. In the course of 2,231 talks, including 770 repeats, 621 remarks and suggestions were formulated, as follows: 367 addressed to individual party members, 183 to primary party organizations and 71 to the party raykom. As the documents prove, 561 of them were followed up. For the time being, there is no possibility of implementing the remainder, for they require additional material and financial outlays which cannot be borne so far by the farms and the rayon. The talks also brought to light some unseemly actions by members of party organizations. Party reprimands were issued to 10 people and 6 were expelled from the party and dismissed from their jobs. Seven candidate party members proved unworthy of and were denied full party membership.

According to Yu. Dneprovoy, Rossiya Kolkhoz party buro secretary, the main purpose of the review is to ensure permanent supervision over the activities of party members. He showed the log book in which the results of the talks with every party member were described in detail and the criticism addressed to him and to the kolkhoz party organization and board by him were noted.

"We have six party groups, the largest of which consists of 15 members," Yu. Dneprovoy said. "We created a review commission which included the members of the party buro, the party group organizers and party and labor veterans. Attendance to meetings has increased. As secretary, I naturally must work harder than before. However, this brings discipline and pleasure. One realizes that such work is not wasted...."

What specific benefits come from talks with the party members? For example, driver A. Melnikova and tractor driver N. Frol, both party members, were



assigned to strengthen the party group of the dairy complex during the winter period. The latter made a suggestion on the rational utilization of fodder and good results were obtained. Or else in the course of the discussion, kolkhoz economist O. Kiseleva made a suggestion she had previously hesitated to make: to draft a detailed memorandum concerning economy of different materials, fodder, fuel and electric power. Today every kolkhoz member is familiar with resource outlay norms and the extent to which he is responsible for violating them. Many other suggestions were voiced. Equally important is the fact that the attitude toward them changed. Whereas in the past some suggestions were simply ignored, today every party member is under the constant supervision of the kolkhoz party buro whose secretary reports on a weekly basis on accomplishments at raykom party meetings at which the militancy of primary party organizations is reviewed.

The participants in the Maritime Kray party conference who realistically assessed their accomplishments, said that that substantial possibilities of upgrading economic efficiency and work quality are left unused. This is frequently the result of omissions and errors in the style and methods of party leadership of the national economy. Indicative in this sense was the speech delivered by V. Tolkachev, party committee secretary at the Askold Machine Building Plant in Arsenyev. The enterprise was listed among the frontrankers in the accountability report. However, the party committee secretary discussed not the successes achieved by the collective but the lost opportunities:

"We are described as leaders in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. However, if we compare our achievements with the demands of the party's Central Committee and the role assigned to science and technology in the draft new edition of the CPSU program, the enterprise's party members cannot fail to realize that they have merely taken the first steps...."

In support of this statement, V. Tolkachev cited quite indicative facts. Thus, in some production sectors more than 45 percent of the workers perform manual labor and machine tools and computers are used far below capacity. In the discussion of the pregress documents the party members frankly said that the party committee and the shop party organizations are insufficiently concerned with enhancing the creative initiative of the working people: up to 40 percent of rationalization suggestions are ignored by the plant; the progressive "Aksayskiy" method for revising output norms should be applied more extensively. Only one out of six workers with higher technical training has been promoted to a leading position, while only one-third of the foremen have higher training and more than 30 percent of the workers listed as promotion reserve have not mastered their respective skill. Only 26 percent of shop and sector chiefs and foremen are party members; the party committee has consistently ignored some 40 percent of the engineering and technical personnel newly accepted into the party in training reserves. Although aware of the practice of filling leading positions on a competitive basis, so far nothing has been done in this connection at the Askold Enterprise.

Briefly, if even leading collectives have great opportunities for accelerating scientific and technical progress, what could one say about lagging enterprises?

Many party committee members, including those of the Kray party committee, were specifically criticized in the accountability report and the speeches. They were criticized for being slow in realizing the importance of newly arising problems, inefficiency, poor help to subordinate party committees and organizations, underestimating the party's influence on economic managers and labor collectives and poorly organizing verification of the implementation of decisions. Some were criticized for connivance with violators of state and party discipline, for a liking for "streamlined" information and for eliminating "sharp angles" in conflict situations. The assertion of the Leninist principles in intraparty relations are an inexhaustible source of strength and purity of our ranks. This thought was constantly present in the discussion which Maritime Kray party members held on their vital problems.

## Sea and Shore

The Maritime Kray people self-critically assessed their activities and tend to blame themselves above all for shortcomings. Nevertheless, they have unquestionably the right to rely on the sympathetic attention of union ministries and departments regarding their production and social needs. Unfortunately, such attention is by no means always given. It is not a question of philanthropy but of lost opportunities and of increasing the contribution which the working people in Maritime Kray could make to increasing the national wealth.

Relations described here with the brief formula of "shore-sea" trigger one of the most crucial problems. The Maritime Kray is the main "fishing shop" in the country and its largest transportation and transshipment center. The needs of this industry are met by a developed fishing fleet covering the vast area of the Pacific, Indian and Arctic Oceans and the merchant marine and refrigerator fleet most closely related to it. Two of the largest shipping administrations and dry-good freighters and tankers accounting for more than 80 percent of the Maritime transportation in the Far East are based in Vladivostok and Nakhodka. A large fleet of coastal fishing vessels is in operation. There is no need to describe in detail how complex and developed the production and social infrastructure have to be to ensure the efficient work of this armada of ships and the normal work of the people they employ.

We must frankly say, however, that in this respect the "shore" is developed quite inadequately and that the pace of its development is always behind the requirements of the workers at sea, requirements which are by no means exaggerated. This was convincingly mentioned at the conference by Hero of Socialist Labor Yu. Volkov, captain of the trawler "Skadovsk" of the Preobrazhenskaya Trawling Fleet Base, whose crew fulfilled 15 annual assignments during the 5-year period, and who has been elected delegate to the 27th CPSU Congress:

"Let us mention, above all, the shortage of receiving capacities at the peak of the fishing season, and the idling of ships for lack of containers, fuel and water. At our base alone unproductive time losses for such reasons totaled about 4,000 ship/days during the 5-year period. Within that time we could have caught more than 100,000 tons of fish. Another problem is replacing the physically worn-out ships. Over the past 5 years 15 ships have

been written off but only four new ones have been received. Repairs and technical servicing of the ships are exceptionally weak areas. The opinion of the fishermen is that the party members who manage the Ministry of Fish Industry and the Dalryba and Primor'rybprom associations are either unable or unwilling efficiently to eliminate the difficulties which hinder the growth of output. Our needs are inseparable from shore work. It is difficult to set up stable labor collectives without cadre turnover. One of the main reasons for the turnover is the scarcity of sociocultural amenities, housing in particular. Currently 25 percent of our base personnel are on a housing waiting list."

Similar problems were raised also by N. Garshina, worker at the "Rybak Vladivostoka" processing ship. This most recently received ship contains, in addition to modern equipment, equipment which is obsolete or totally inoperative. This disturbs the technological process and causes substantial losses. There is no way to replace or repair it. It is frequently impossible to deliver the canned fish, for Dalrybsbyt refuses to accept it "for the time being," citing lack of demand.

"As a deputy of the Vladivostok city soviet," N. Garshina said, "I know that during the 11th 5-Year Plan more than 100,000 residents of the city improved their housing conditions, except for the Dalmoreprodukt workers, one-half of whom have no housing whatsoever in Vladivostok. Hundreds of young families are forced to live aboard the processing ship for a number of years, with no hope of obtaining an apartment.... For that reason alone many of them do not stay long in Maritime Kray...."

This alarming situation was confirmed during my conversation with N. Neskoromnyuk, chief of the Vostokrybkholodflot Administration:

"The technical retooling of the fishing fleet and the transport and refrigeration support fleet is very slow. Consequently, the need for ship repair and rebuilding increases whereas the capacities of ship repair yards remain virtually the same. For example, the floating base "Sovetskaya Rossiya," one of the largest of its kind in the Far East, has been waiting to be repaired since last May. Also waiting is the high-tonnage "Spassk" base. Another five ships belonging to our administration are also waiting their turn for repairs. Lack of fuel and railroad cars increases unproductive idling which totaled 30,000 ship/days in 1985 for the Vostokrybkholodflot alone. As to housing for the sailors, we have 3,700 workers on shore who have no housing at all. During the 5-Year plan all we received were 37 apartments."

The people of Maritime Kray are also concerned with the situation which has developed with marketing the fish. A query to the fish industry department of the Maritime CPSU Kraykom revealed that on 1 January 1986 nearly 100 million standard-size tins of canned fish had accumulated in the warehouses of the Far Eastern Marketing Office and aboard the ships of the Maritime Kray Fishing Industry Administration. Currently, the enterprises are hastily reorganizing their work for the production of better quality canned fish, which is in great demand by the population. However, urgent measures must be taken by the USSR Ministry of Fish Industry and Ministry of Trade to resolve the problem of marketing the already canned fish.

Incidentally, a word about the new and improved variety. N. Ivanov, director of the fish combine in Vladivostok, in displaying a number of delicacies made of fish and other sea products, the manufacturing technology for which had been long developed, complained that it is impossible for them to bring them to the consumer. The reason? As a rule, processing the technical documentation and setting the prices of new commodities takes the USSR Ministry of Fish Industry and Ministry of Trade between 18 months and 2 years.

However, the fishermen are not alone in encountering such difficulties on a daily basis. The personnel of the Far East and Maritime Shipping Administrations and of Vladivostok and Nakhodka ports are equally concerned with problems of the aging of the fleet, the low capacity of the repair base and transport, housing and sociocultural difficulties. S. Maslov, captain of the "Grigoriy Alekseyev" motor ship, who described to the delegates the labor accomplishments of the collective of the Far Eastern Maritime Shipping Administration, said:

"A great deal could be achieved by eliminating losses at transportation junctions. In 1984, the shipping administration lost 2,913,000 tonnage/days from waiting for freight cars; more than 3.5 million will be lost in 1985, despite the fact that everyday hundreds of cars are being moved for so-called railroad adjustment purposes, i.e., they are being moved empty, and frequently precisely in the direction of our shipments. Why is this?... For two reasons: the insufficient exigency toward the managers, including by the transportation and communications department of the kray party committee, and departmental lack of coordination among transportation workers...."

Many bitter words were said at the conference to the effect that, as in the past, the national economy in Maritime Kray continues to suffer major losses only because sectorial ministries and other central departments take little into consideration the specific nature of this area, as they continue one-sidedly to increase production capacities while showing little concern for the social development of the collectives of subordinate enterprises.

"For example, the construction of several large enterprises was undertaken in the town of Partizansk and the Bolshoy Kamen settlement," said D. Karabanov, kray executive committee chairman, addressing the conference. "The ministries actively develop industrial construction there but are clearly not in a hurry to resolve the entire set of social problems. We fail to understand how the ministry management and the directors of such plants under construction intend to provide cadres for such enterprises. Or else, let us consider the following aspect of the problem: some ministries, above all the USSR ministries of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, Ferrous Metallurgy and Power and Electrification, are sluggishly increasing at their plants the production of consumer goods, obviously believing that this is a third-priority task."

All of these problems are not new. They are raised year after year but, as a rule, remain unanswered. Is it not time, the delegates to the conference asked, to put an end to such a one-sided dialogue?

## Intensification Course

On the eve of the 27th CPSU Congress, the Maritime Kray party members analyzed particularly thoroughly their experience, gains and losses of the past 5 years. The purpose of such extensive analytical work was to identify, to assess more accurately available reserves, and to regroup their forces in order to undertake the implementation of the tasks which the high party forum will most emphatically set to the party and all working people in the country.

The outlines of such tasks are already quite clear. Among others, V. Safronov, CPSU kraykom second secretary, said in his report that this 5-year plan the volume of the kray's industrial output will be increased by nearly 25 percent and that it will be doubled by the year 2000. According to the planned figures, the average annual increase in the volume of industrial output should be 4.5 percent. This pace is entirely realistic. For example, the 1985 the kray's volume of industrial output increased by 5.2 percent. However, the delegates emphasized, no reasons for any complacency exist. One must always bear in mind the specific nature of the kray's economic development in the immediate future. It is a question not simply of increasing the volume of output but of securing it within the firm framework of national economic procurements, observing the strict production quality requirements and achieving a significant and, in a number of cases, essential updating of produced commodities, which presumes the energetic modernizing of enterprises without interrupting their work.

To what extent are the kray's party organizations and labor collectives ready to resolve the comprehensive and difficult problems related to economic intensification? Construction of the Mikhaylovskaya poultry farm by the Dalshakhtostroy Trust was cited at the conference as an example of such readiness. Progressive methods were developed and applied through the joint efforts of customer, designers, builders and executing workers. The party's leadership skillfully and clearly guided the energy of the collective and a creative and comradely exigent atmosphere developed at the project. As a result, construction costs were 236,000 rubles below estimates. The project was not even completed but the farm was already shipping goods to the customers.

A number of examples convincingly proved the inexhaustible reserves for increasing production efficiency, existing in perfecting the forms and methods of economic management and style of economic activities and in energizing the human factor. Following is information cited in the accountability report of the CPSU Kraykom: In the past 5-year period the size of the administrative apparatus in the kray was not only not reduced to the necessary extent, as planned, but was increased by more than 13,000 people. To this day the administrative apparatus in agriculture and the timber and timber processing industry and in some construction trusts continues to grow at a headlong pace. Furthermore, this has taken place precisely where the growth rates of output were the lowest. Is this paradoxical? No, it is the direct consequence of a faulty obsolete managerial and planning system and excessive caution in restructuring the forms and methods of economic management. Delegates to the conference sharply criticized party organizations, the leadership of kray departments and managements, the kray executive committee and even some

departments of the CPSU kraykom who had been unable to make the necessary changes in this most important area of activities.

Each case of lack of initiative analyzed at the kray party conference confirmed, one way or another, that such shortcomings are largely and frequently mainly the result of low discipline and weak party and state responsibility on the part of those entrusted with managerial positions.

A thorough study of reserves, which was characteristic of the conference as a whole, brought to light step by step the guidelines for further progress in machine building, ore mining, agriculture, fishing, capital construction, consumer goods production and the power industry. Two essential aspects of this analysis should be mentioned in particular.

The role of science today is truly infinite in resolving problems of scientific and technical progress. It was understandable, therefore, that both in the speeches and in the addresses of the participants in the conference the activities and prospects of the USSR Academy of Sciences Far Eastern Scientific Center were closely analyzed. What had been accomplished to ensure the priority development of science in the region? The creation of a party committee of the Vladivostok group of scientific institutions marked the completion of the latest stage in the process of streamlining the structure of the party organizations of the center. A number of steps were taken to strengthen the personnel and material facilities in Far Eastern science. Practical experience indicated, however, that accomplishments in that area are now clearly insufficient.

Delegates to the conference emphasized that the kray CPSU committee, its department of science and its training institutions were unable to make the scientific cadres upgrade labor efficiency to the extent required by national economic practice today. The scientists in the region are not providing substantial help in resolving problems of the comprehensive utilization of raw material resources, the technical retooling of enterprises and improvements in production quality. The presidium of the Far Eastern Scientific Center is poorly coordinating scientific research in the kray, is slow in developing the experimental-production base and is tolerating the low output of academic and other scientific research institutes. The party organizations of the scientific subunits have not assumed principle-minded positions in assessing the existing situation. The conclusion is clear: scientists, who are party members, must dedicate all their strength to surmounting such adverse trends.

Many vivid self-critical statements were made at the conference on the subject of another exceptionally important problem, the successful solution of which is of interest to all kray working people: comprehensively strengthening organization and order.

As a result of the steps taken for the implementation of the familiar CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decrees on strengthening discipline, in the 5-year period unproductive working time losses in the kray were reduced by one-half in industry and 25 percent in transportation. They are substantially declining in a number of enterprises in Vladivostok and Arsenyev and in Ussuriyskiy and Khorolskiy Rayons.

However, to this day there is virtually no enterprise in the kray which has entirely eliminated unproductive working time losses which, in the 5-year period, led to the underproduction of goods worth many millions of rubles. It is a matter of honor for the party members, the delegates to the conference emphasized, to make the struggle for high conscious discipline at work and outside work truly widespread. One of the most important and decisive areas in this struggle is the assertion of a sober way of life.

"Today, as a result of the comprehensively supported steps taken by the party and the government for the elimination of drunkenness and alcoholism, the situation in the kray has significantly improved," Hero of Socialist Labor A. Belov, Dalzavod brigade leader, pointed out in his conference address. "At the same time, however, it is entirely obvious that the efforts aimed at implementing the stipulations of the party's Central Committee could turn into nothing but another campaign without planned and energetic steps, coordinated on all levels. In this matter, we believe, the CPSU kraykom has still not made its work systematic. Let me emphasize as chairman of the kray council of the All-Union Voluntary Society for the Struggle for Sobriety, that many party organizations undertake the organization of a healthy way of life and cultural recreation hesitantly and even unwillingly. That is the reason for remaining violations in the rules governing trade in alcoholic beverages and examples of inadmissible formalism in organizing counteraction against a major social ill, such as drunkenness...."

These words are fully consistent with the spirit of the times. Putting all sectors of our life without exception in order depends, above all, on the systematic, persistent and purposeful efforts of the party members. This, as we know, cannot be achieved without well organized ideological education.

The accountability report leads to the conclusion that positive changes in the style and methods of ideological work by party, soviet and Komsomol organizations and economic managers are taking place in Maritime Kray and that the CPSU kraykom is paying constant attention to such activities. "Propaganda support of the course of intensification" is the way the kray's party members formulate the task of upgrading the organizational role of ideological education.

The approach of the Nakhodka city party committee to such problems is given as an example. Here labor collectives, brigades above all, are becoming the true centers of communist education of the working people; political and organizational work among the population is based on age and professional interests and the specific features of this port, extensively visited by foreign seamen and tourists. Here counterpropaganda is considered one of the priority trends in ideological work.

Today, when the comprehensive "Intensification" socioeconomic program is being drafted in the kray, an efficient system for providing it with ideological support should be considered. The question is how to make every working person in Maritime Kray aware of the entire gravity and difficulty of the tasks of the 12th 5-Year Plan through television, the radio and printed and verbal propaganda, and what forms of educational and organizational work will

prove to be most effective here. This was considered by many of the speakers at the conference and was discussed in the course of comradely talks.

The kray party conference proved the high consciousness of the Maritime Kray party members and their aspiration profoundly to interpret and steadfastly implement the course of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and to reach a new qualitative status in Soviet society. We are confident that the slogan of the pregress stage in reviewing the militancy of primary party organizations "common objectives with individual responsibility" will become a manual for action in the 12th 5-Year Plan for the people of the Maritime Kray.

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## UNDERSTANDING THE TASKS OF THE MOMENT

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[Article by Ye. Bugayev]

[Text] The 19th Congress of the Lithuanian party members--one of the combat detachments of the great Leninist party--worked intensively and productively for 2 days. The 945 delegates, who represented the nearly 200,000-strong republic party organization, analyzed self-critically and exigently the lessons of the past, looked closely at their forthcoming tasks, and expressed frankly and on a principle-minded basis their views on what of the already accomplished should be preserved and multiplied and what should be most clearly and firmly abandoned.

One of the features of the congress was that it marked the end of the accountability and election campaign in the republic, in the course of which, in addition to reports on the work done at the meetings of party groups and shop and primary party organizations and rayon and city party conferences, the basic documents of the entire party and the prospects for the development of Soviet society over the next 5 years and beyond that time were discussed. The interest shown in the accountability and election meetings and conferences and meetings of labor collectives and at places of residence may be judged by the fact alone that they involved the participation of nearly 1.5 million people (out of a population of 3.6 million). More than 10,000 remarks and supplements were suggested for the draft new edition of the CPSU program and 11,000 for the CPSU statutes (with suggested amendments).

The April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum literally energized the republic's party organization and working people, as it did the entire party and Soviet people. The realistic and objective study of achievements and omissions, of what was not done on time or was done not as planned, the open and honest explanation of the situation which had developed in the country and in the international arena and the comprehensive substantiation of the course of comprehensive acceleration of the country's economy and social development acted as a powerful catalyst in social life.

The results of the pregress accountability and election campaign in Lithuania indicated that the republic's party members and working people warmly approve and unanimously support CPSU domestic and foreign policy and

that they are brimming with resolve to implement it actively and with dedication. A clear confirmation of this was found in the proceedings of the 19th Congress of the Lithuanian CP. To use V.I. Lenin's expression, its participants tried to speak of the "political lessons learned during the year under consideration, the main, the basic reasons, in order to be able to determine accurately through their policies for the forthcoming year what had been learned in 1 year" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 45, pp 72-73).

Those who had the occasion to participate in the postwar meetings of Lithuanian communists unanimously noted features in this congress, such as openness, sober discussions, specific nature of demands and suggestions, targeted criticism of subordinates and superiors, including members of the buro and secretaries of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, members of the republic's government and heads of republic and some central ministries and departments. Neither the featured speakers nor those who participated in the debates concealed their omissions and errors.

Ya. Fedorovich, first secretary of the Trakayskiy party raykom, sharply criticized the efforts of individual workers to shift their concerns to someone else. He suggested that such cases be considered recurrences of the old way of thinking, which should be abandoned faster. L. Galvyalene, Zarasayskiy Rayon party committee first secretary, answered the criticism addressed at the raykom in the accountability report as follows: "We clearly established the truth that the reasons for the shortcomings should be sought not in so-called objective circumstances but, above all, in our own blunders and errors. We must reorganize our work everywhere and in everything: in the party raykom, the rayon executive committee, the RAPO Council and the individual labor collectives."

The Lithuanian party members and working people have something to be proud of. The republic successfully fulfilled its assignments for the 11th 5-Year Plan in terms of basic indicators. The national income increased by 25.4 percent instead of 17 as planned. Labor productivity increased by 22 percent rather than by the planned figure of 15.8 percent. The 5-year plan was completed ahead of schedule for the start-up of basic capital assets. The 5-year plans for the purchasing of agricultural commodities (with the exception of cattle and poultry) were fulfilled. All republic farms are working profitably. The first power turbines of the Ignalinskaya AES and the Vilnyus TETs-3 were commissioned. More housing than stipulated in the 5-year plan and many sociocultural projects were completed. The Lithuanian SSR, the cities of Vilnyus and Shyauliyay, 5 rayons and many labor collectives were awarded the Red Challenge Banners of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers, AUCCTU and Komsomol Central Committee for high results achieved in the all-union socialist competition and successful implementation of the state plans for economic and social development in 1985 and in the entire 11th 5-Year Plan. The banner was presented to the republic in perpetuity.

However, P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee allocated for a discussion of economic achievements no more than a few minutes. Both the report and the speeches of the delegates used successes, as a rule, to substantiate and illustrate the simple and invariably

relevant thought of what a great deal could be achieved despite all existing difficulties if the work is done with dedication and if thought is given to end results and to the people, their needs and their welfare.

Many shortcomings in economic construction were noted at the congress. Thus, the republic's Ministry of Light Industry fulfilled its 5-year assignments for the growth rates of output and labor productivity and the production of consumer goods, including woolen and silk fabrics, knitted underwear, and shoes on the basis of the fulfillment of individual annual plans. This term, which to the uneducated may indicate success, means that every year the ministry requested that its annual plans be amended downwards and that, by fulfilling such curtailed plans, it was essentially deceiving itself, the state and the consumers. The direct culprits for such improper practices were Minister I. Ramanauskas and Yu. Rusenko, deputy chairman of the republic's council of ministers, who were severely criticized at the congress. Also criticized by the delegates was the head of the Ministry of Trade, whose liberalism toward his suppliers prevented the population from obtaining a great deal of good-quality goods while the warehouses were packed with items without any hope of being sold. From this point of view, extensive work lies ahead. It was firmly stated at the congress that the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and the republic's government will no longer grant any concessions to managers who continue to violate state discipline and will firmly struggle against irresponsibility and slackness.

Many bitter words were expressed at the congress on shortcomings in current planning practices and imperfections in the economic mechanism, which frequently paralyzes the initiative of labor collectives and hinders their normal production activities. V. Mikuchauskas, Vilnius city party committee first secretary, and A. Viltzhyunas, party committee secretary at the Adding Machines Plant imeni V.I. Lenin in Vilnius, said that the Ministry of Machine Tools Industry is planning for its subordinate enterprises the production of even items which are used entirely to meet the needs of the enterprises themselves. The plan of the Vilnyuselektrosvar Enterprise included 38 indicators subject to monthly control. The same ministry instructed the Vilnius Grinding Machine-Tool Plant to manufacture in the first quarter of 1986 3 circular grinders for the Moscow Automatic Lines Plants, although according to the USSR Gosplan list, complementing equipment for such machines could be supplied during the second quarter only. Unfortunately, these are not isolated cases.

The first secretary of the Vilnius city party committee was puzzled by the ideas of some, including union, ministries, which lightly allow enterprises to increase the number of their personnel in planning increased volumes of output, although during the 12th 5-Year Plan the entire increase in industrial output in Vilnius should be achieved by increasing labor productivity on the basis of accelerated scientific and technical progress.

In the past 2 years the Vilnius Adding Machines Plant was able nearly to double its growth rates of output and fulfilled its 5-year plan ahead of schedule. However, A. Vildzhyunas said, frequently the efforts of highly skilled workers and design engineers are reduced to naught because of the lack of commitments by related enterprises and planning errors. The plant has

established direct contacts with enterprises in the electronic industry, which supply it with printed circuits and video terminals, totally ignoring the technical stipulations of its customers. The gravity of the problem of saving on material resources today is well-known. Nevertheless, no less than one-third of such expensive printed circuits obtained from related enterprises must be discarded. "Unfortunately," the speaker said, "we have been unable so far to find efficient means of fighting suppliers, who tell us 'either take what we give you or you get nothing.' We yield to the suppliers, the customers yield to us and their own customers yield to them, the result being a vicious circle of yielding for which no one is culpable. Everyone blames the economic mechanism forgetting that it is living people who control it."

The same thought was developed by O. Burdenko, director of the Vilnyus Plant for Radio Measuring Equipment imeni 60-Letiya Oktyabrya, whose output is in demand not only in the Soviet Union but also in countries such as the FRG and Japan. His enterprise has undertaken the production of one-of-a-kind microprocessor sets for diagnosing cardiovascular diseases in quantities which will make possible the universal outpatient treatment of the country's population. However, the implementation of this and other assignments may be spoiled. The plant started the first year of the 5-year plan under conditions in which the large-scale economic experiment taking place in the country was being developed. However, in these circumstances as well the enterprise failed to receive supplies of 40 different complementing items. Therefore, 30 percent of the volume of the annual output was threatened with noncompletion. This 5-year period the plant's collective was scheduled to update 50 percent of its equipment. However, the rate at which the ministry delivers the equipment is such that the process would take almost 10 years. Is this admissible for a sector at the cutting edge of technical progress?

"Frequently, I and my fellow brigade-members have had to read the complaints of our customers, blushing with shame," said L. Lukicheva, radio assembly worker and party group organizer at the Televisions Plant imeni 40-Letiya Sovetskoy Litvy in Shyaulayay. "How to explain to them that we can manufacture most complex television equipment yet are unable so far to produce a reliable high-quality television set." In her opinion, indifference, low worker conscience and poor technological discipline are to be blamed. In the final account, however, the collective could deal with such problems by itself. But what to do about violations of procurement deadlines as a result of which, despite regular program "rushes," the plant falls short of delivering 5,000 color television sets to the stores? The plant designers developed the new Taurus model but because of the lack of the necessary radio elements, the enterprise is continuing to produce the obsolete model with radio tubes.

During the 11th 5-Year Plan the plans of 25 out of 27 enterprises in Klaypeda were amended 180 times. It was only on such occasions that the city party committee was informed of this only occasionally, Ch. Shlizhyus, its first secretary, said at the congress. According to the initial plans drafted by ministries and departments for the city enterprises, commodity output in 1986 was to increase by no more than 1 percent compared with 1985, while labor productivity was to reach 98.4 percent of the 1985 level. After the enterprises "defended" the draft plans to the party gorkom and after a thorough survey and consideration of available internal reserves, which were

difficult to conceal from the gorkom personnel, the picture became entirely different. As early as 1986 the city's industry will be able to increase its volume of output by no less than 4.2 percent and labor productivity by 3.3 percent. It would be reasonable to ask, according to Ch. Shlizhyus, why our ministries and departments are planning a lower production output instead of its accelerated pace, as required by reality and the CPSU Central Committee resolutions, and why do they consider unnecessary to seek the advice of labor collectives and the party gorkom, not because so ordered but in accordance with their party and official duties.

By the year 2000 the republic's industry should reduce the use of manual labor by one-half. This is a tremendous economic and social task which calls for doubling the pace of replacing obsolete equipment with essentially new one aimed at the utilization of flexible technological systems and making a drastic leap in labor productivity possible. The bitter experience of the past should be taken into consideration in this case for, as was pointed out in the accountability report, the 5-year plan for the practical utilization of the achievements of science and technology was not met. In 1985 67 types of items produced in the republic lost their state Emblem of Quality. The time needed for application of more than one-half of inventions takes as much as 6 or more years and, within that time, many of them become morally obsolete.

Yu. Pozhela, president of the LiSSR Academy of Sciences, discussed the need for more extensive integration between basic and applied scientific research and production. He favored the creation of interdepartmental scientific-production associations working on the basis of specific comprehensive programs. The same suggestion was voiced by V. Sakalauskas, chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, who spoke on the draft Basic Directions in the Development of the Lithuanian National Economy in the 12th 5-Year Plan and the Period Until the Year 2000. Yu. Pozhela drew the attention of the delegates on the need for the technical retooling of scientific laboratories. He believes that it would be more useful to close down some of them than to allow them to continue working with obsolete equipment.

Large detachments of skilled engineers, designers and development scientists are at work in Vilnius, Kaunas and other Lithuanian cities. Why is it that such a powerful scientific and technical potential is occasionally used so unsystematically and wastefully? Could we consider normal a situation in which highly skilled specialists are assigned auxiliary work in construction, landscaping of towns and settlements and agricultural work? Why, the delegates sensibly asked, not to make use of the creative groups of engineers in eliminating the technical backwardness of small enterprises and mechanizing a variety of auxiliary jobs which require today tremendous outlays of unskilled manual labor, and in organizing repairs of agricultural equipment on a modern level? All of this would contribute to the gradual elimination of social distinctions between people doing in physical and mental work and between town and country.

Under socialist conditions, both material benefits and honors are "allocated" according to labor. It is difficult, therefore, to accept the fact that engineers and designers who are facilitating the work of many people and are themselves investing a great deal of physical effort earn less than skilled

workers, delegates to the congress noted. The same situation prevails among specialists in the agrarian economic sector (agronomers, zootechnicians and engineers).

The need to get closer to the land, to production requirements and the science of agriculture, was the topic discussed in specific and substantiated terms by L. Radenas, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Chernyakhovskiy, Radvilishkskiy Rayon. He, like other speakers, voiced a number of critical remarks directed at organizations in charge of planning agricultural production, material and technical supplies and services. The agricultural workers are expecting a great deal of the state agricultural industry enterprises recently set up in the republic and the rest of the country. The farmers hope that now problems of agricultural development will be resolved more efficiently and that, once and for all, petty supervision and bureaucratic administration will be ended and trust will walk hand in hand with exigency. To achieve this, L. Radenas said during a break in the conference, planning procedures must be substantially simplified. It would suffice to issue the farms assignments on the sale of agricultural commodities to the state, and set the purchase prices and volumes of material and financial resources and credits allocated on a centralized basis. With such a system the farmer would feel himself the master of the land and would become more interested than he is now in improving end farming results.

With rare unanimity the congress delegates criticized construction ministries and organizations, especially for failing to meet deadlines for the completion of projects, low work quality and costly neglect of social and cultural projects. The suggestion of the republic's Gosstroy to lower the cost of housing construction by lowering the quality of interior finishing of apartments, which is often by no means brilliant as it were, as is the quality of construction of industrial projects, caused sharp objections at the congress. The delegates said quite bitterly that, as is commonly known, the people in the republic do know how to build beautifully and with high quality.

Speakers and delegates alike noted the significant progress made in the republic in the area of social relations. However, errors in this area and cases of neglect of the people's material and spiritual needs remain quite frequent. The party members representing small towns sharply raised the question of the lack of organization of the population's way of life, of young people in particular. The construction of housing and cultural and sports projects is lagging behind industrial construction in a number of republic rayons, which makes exceptionally relevant the problem of the utilization of leisure time. Such time, as was justifiably emphasized by K. Bogdanas, chairman of the board of the Lithuanian Union of Painters, in his speech at the congress, turns into social wealth only when it is used for the all-round advancement of the individual and the development of his capabilities.

"While applying most complex technology, robot sets and many others," said at the congress O. Burdenko, director of the Vilnyus Radio Measuring Instruments Plant, already mentioned by us, "we never forget that man plays the main role in the implementation of assignments. That is why in all plant branches spread over three union republics we tirelessly promote sociocultural construction." During the 5-year plan, outside the republic the plant

contracted for the construction of two hostels, four residential buildings and two kindergartens for the personnel of its branches. More could have been done in this area had ministries and other central departments not hampered local initiative. Actually, O. Burdenko complained, it is difficult for an enterprise director to display such initiative today, for his work is regulated by nearly 13,000 official standards. A manager entrusted with tremendous material values has no right to exchange unnecessary items for materials needed by the enterprise. Nor can he send with the enterprise's bus a delegation to Minsk to exchange experience, without special permission. Under such circumstances, how can the enterprise contract for work? Is this not the reason for which one of the largest enterprises in the republic's capital has no cultural club, sports premises or swimming pool? All of these projects had been included in the 11th 5-Year Plan but were not carried out.

R. Baronaytene, milkmaid and party group organizer at the livestock farm of Pyargale Kolkhoz, Vilkavishskiy Rayon, who described the precongress party documents as "basic guidelines for daily work and life," sharply rejected complaints about manpower shortages in kolkhozes. "I totally fail to understand the managers of farms complaining of worker scarcity at the livestock farms, young people in particular," she said at the congress. "All that are needed are normal working and living conditions and constant concern for the people and there would be no shortage of manpower." She described the way the concern shown by the kolkhoz for the social and cultural needs of kolkhoz members turns into high economic results and the way in which, together with the school, the farm develops in the young people love for farming. Her own daughter, a secondary school graduate, has been working for the third consecutive year at the kolkhoz livestock farm and has been accepted as candidate party member by the party organization.

Naturally, no one believes that problems of the social development of the countryside and the large and small cities can be resolved instantaneously. It is important, however, as was emphasized at the congress, for people within each labor collective and settlement to trust that their needs and concerns will not be callously ignored by the powers that be and that such needs and concerns are known and remembered. B. Saykauskene, veneer manufacturing worker at the Shilute Furniture Combine and party raykom buro member, said that it is important to explain to the people in understandable terms that the cultural club in the rayon center, let us say, will be built during thus and such a year, that for the time being cultural activities will take place in thus and such enterprises, and that an additional bus line or reception center for a laundering enterprise or repair workshop will be opened at thus and such a time....

One should not promise something which cannot be accomplished in the immediate future, honestly explain why not and set a possible date. Above all, one must carefully look around, consult at rallies in villages and settlements and at labor collective meetings as to what can be done through one's own forces immediately, with no postponements. With such an approach, the speakers pointed out, a great deal can be achieved. For example, several standard housing layouts exist for the benefit of the rural population: make your choice and build. But why not, asked L. Radenas, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni Chernyakhovskiy, Radvilishskiy Rayon, not set up standard layouts for

buildings in which several social purpose projects could be located under the same roof and which, if necessary, could be easily expanded? R. Baronaytene, party group organizer at the livestock farm of Pyargale Kolkhoz believes that standard layouts for simple industrial buildings could be developed as well, where work would be comfortable and which would include relaxation areas. It is not mandatory in the least to erect huge reinforced concrete buildings everywhere. Collectives engaged in construction with their own forces, on a shareholding basis, etc., need such blueprints particularly urgently. A great deal of something well-put and necessary could be accomplished in the small settlements if an end is put to bureaucratism and red tape in the approval of projects.

A. Prashkyavichyus, rector of the Kaunas Medical Institute, raised in his speech important problems of improving population medical services. It is not a question of expanding the network of hospitals, although this too is necessary. What is also important is to standardize medical equipment, for this has not been accomplished so far, and hospitals, mistrusting polyclinic data duplicate tests. For that reason alone a person may spend several unnecessary days in hospital. The main way to maintain the population's health is good polyclinical and preventive work, universal outpatient treatment and a concerned attitude toward the patients by the medical personnel.

Many sharp comments were made at the congress on cases of violations of public order, drunkenness and parasitism. Changes for the better have been noted of late in this area as well. Unfortunately, however, these are merely changes rather than an accelerated process of uprooting phenomena which are irreconcilably hostile to socialism. The working people are particularly indignant at cases of money grubbing, parasitism, theft and other means of personal enrichment at the expense of society, and social parasitism.

According to Lenin, the organization of mass accountability and supervision "of the rich, the swindlers, the parasites and the hooligans" were among the prime tasks of the worker-peasant system after the victory of the Great October Revolution, in order "to eliminate such vestiges of the accursed capitalist society, these rejections of mankind, these hopelessly corrupt and deadened members, this contagious disease, plague and ulcer which capitalism has bequeathed to socialism" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 200). Slightly less than 7 decades have passed since Lenin wrote his work "How to Organize the Competition?" Within that time we have made tremendous progress in the implementation of the socialist principle "From Each According to his Capabilities and to Each According to his Work," which marks a high level of social justice attainable during the first phase of the communist system. Lenin justifiably considered the rich and the swindlers two sides of the same coin. Today there is no difference between them. We have eliminated the very possibility of the exploitation of man by man by eliminating the exploiting classes and private property which generated them. However, swindlers, who are doing everything possible to enrich themselves and to take from the public pie a larger piece, still exist. Swindlers like hooligans are prosecuted by Soviet justice and "awarded" public scorn. A stubborn and lengthy struggle remains to be waged with parasites of various kinds (ranging from a thief or black marketeer not caught in the act to idlers



of different ages and of both sexes, supported by soft-hearted parents, relatives and grandmothers).

S. Lisauskas, the republic's minister of internal affairs, acknowledged as justifiable the criticism addressed at law enforcement bodies who have displayed so far excessive tolerance of parasites. At the same time, he drew the attention of the delegates to legal loopholes which allow unconscientious people to avoid socially useful labor. The minister said that parasites or individuals who have served a prison term for criminal offenses cannot be issued an official warning about finding employment for the first 3 months of idling. Therefore, 10 or even 5 days before the deadline, the parasite, who usually is well-familiar with the laws finds any kind of work (workers are needed everywhere) and one week later leaves "on his own free will," because of "personality clashes with superiors" or having realized that he had "erred" in the choice of a profession. Everything points out at the need to organize today truly nationwide accountability and control over such social relics, involving public organizations and citizens at home into such exceptionally important matters. A parasite must be scornfully pointed out instead of sympathy being shown for his lack of luck. It is only the organized power of public opinion that can put an end once and for all to this social evil which, otherwise, could for many years into the future continue to poison the moral atmosphere in our society, desecrating its principle of social justice.

Both the accountability reports of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and the Auditing Commission and the debates dealt extensively with problems of ideological education and organizational work, the purpose of which is to develop in the party members and, through them, in all working people a Marxist-Leninist outlook, ideological convictions and an active class-oriented life stance and to educate them in a spirit of communist morality. In these areas as well the republic party organizations and party committees have been able to show some progress during the period under consideration not, however, without some errors and shortcomings. Fully in accordance with the spirit of the times the former were discussed in most general features and the latter in detail and sharply.

As both the accountability report and the delegate's speeches made clear, the republic party organization persistently dealt with the implementation of the CPSU Central Committee stipulations on shifting the center of gravity of party work to the labor collectives. Problems of strengthening party organizations and party groups were considered by the Lithuanian CP Central Committee and by all rayon and city party committees. This substantially energized party life in the republic.

V. Mikuchauskas, first secretary of the Vilnius city party committee, pointed out that improvements in economic and ideological activities call for perfecting intraparty work and upgrading the combativeness and initiative of primary party organizations. He emphasized that problems related to the further intensification of the vanguard role of the party members, perfecting control and verification of execution, a more profound summation and dissemination of progressive experience in party work and energizing the activities of public organizations demand the gorkom's close attention. The gorkom must work hard to improve its work style, which includes eliminating an

excessive number of meetings. The secretary justifiably considers unsuitable the practice according to which the agendas of most meetings are set by superior party organizations. He expressed the hope that the Vilnyus city party committee will put an end to such practices before others and thus set an example.

The head of the party organization in the capital submitted two suggestions worthy of attention: first, to reduce the number of plenary meetings of gorkoms in cities with rayon subdivisions, and a variety of meetings at which the presence of first party raykom and gorkom secretaries is mandatory. Actually, for the past 2 years the republic's Communist Party Central Committee has held 9 plenums and 5 republic meetings of the party aktiv. Proper information had to be prepared for all of them, followed by the formulation of plans for measures to be taken. Under such circumstances virtually no time is left for personal contacts with people at their places of work and residents. "We believe that the time has come," said V. Mikuchauskas in this connection, "to assess the activities of party committees above all on the basis of specific results rather than the number of discussed problems and adopted plans." Secondly, according to the party secretary, it is absolutely necessary to streamline the work of control-auditing bodies. In such groups the number of various investigations may reach a 3-digit figure by the end of the year. How can the managers of such collectives do any work!

A great deal also remains to be done to improve the style of the soviet managements, V. Sharapayev, chairman of the Shalchininkskiy Rayon Executive Committee, said in his address. The rayon has been awarded the Red Challenge Banner for successes in the all-union socialist competition for 3 consecutive years. However, its successes could have been even more tangible had the executive committee dealt more specifically with on-site organizational work. The executive committee personnel are still being "tied down" to their desks by the growing flood of documents, both their own and those issued by the republic organizations. In 1985 alone about 1,500 such documents were received. V. Sharapayev called for a stricter and more specific formulation of the new section in the CPSU statutes "Party and State and Social Organizations," with a view to curtailing the possibility of party raykoms to assume rayon executive committee functions. In the view of the speaker, it should not be considered normal for the structure of the soviet apparatus in the rayon to have remained virtually unchanged for decades on end and for the salaries of instructors and some heads of rayon executive committee departments to be the same as those of a RAPO secretary-typist.

The party committee at the Vilnyus Adding Machines Plant actively responded to the CPSU Central Committee instruction on shifting the center of gravity of party work to labor collectives and to party committee subdivisions. In 1984 the CP of Lithuania Central Committee Buro discussed the work of the party organizations at the Sigma Computer Equipment Production Association, which includes said plant. The discussion benefited the organization greatly. In order to strengthen the party's influence in the brigades, the plant party committee set up an additional party group and named 70 party organizers; 58 party members were made brigade leaders. All of this helped sharply to enhance the role of brigades not only in the implementation but also in

formulating production plans and energizing the struggle for a sober way of life and work without labor discipline violations and, naturally, for high production quality. What were the results? They proved to be quite convincing. Party committee secretary A. Vildzhyunas reported to the congress that during the time since the report submitted by the plant party organization to the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Buro, the association had doubled its growth rates of output and fulfilled its 5-year plan ahead of schedule. The state received above-plan output worth 11 million rubles. At the plant itself, last year losses from defective production were reduced by a factor of 5 while the share of superior quality goods reached 90 percent of the overall production volume.

In our time, the party committee secretary said in his speech, concern for upgrading the efficiency of engineering work is becoming the most important area in party work. The country faces most difficult problems of accelerating scientific and technical progress, the successful solution of which will largely depend on the interested and active participation of engineering workers. In this connection, the party committee is worried by the steady thinning of the party stratum among the engineers, with virtually no addition of young party members. Thus, for example, the number of party members in the department of the chief designer of the leading plant declined from 28 to 16 people over the 5-year period. In no engineering service in the enterprise has the opposite occurred.

In our century of scientific and technical revolutions, it is already difficult to distinguish between the work of an engineer and a worker in a number of sectors. In that same adding machines plant more than 450 workers have higher or secondary specialized training. Many engineers are participating in the formulation of the programs which the enterprise markets as finished goods. All of this motivated the party committee secretary to suggest at the congress that the primary party organizations be allowed themselves to define the social status of the working people, depending on the nature of their work and to codify this right in the statutes.

Naturally, this suggestion could be rejected outright on the basis of officially inviolable reasons: for quite some time (since 1939) the CPSU statutes have abolished differences governing party membership, based on the social affiliation of the applicant. This is true. In practice, however, frequently a formal attitude is adopted in matters of strengthening the worker stratum in the party. Instead of undertaking the active selection of progressive and conscientious workers and preparing them for joining the party, party membership of engineering and technical personnel, including those directly employed in material production, becomes "unofficially" restricted. Obviously, this is the result of obsolete concepts according to which the worker is a person engaged in primarily heavy manual labor. In the light of such concepts the production engineer is unquestionably considered an employee. This is a problem the solution of which is urgently demanded by party construction practices. This would also help us to develop a more accurate orientation in terms of the problems of the international workers movement and to eliminate the excessively narrow concept of the nature of the contemporary proletariat.

Both the reports and the speeches of the delegates touched upon the vanguard role of the party members in society and their particular responsibility for the implementation of the program for action earmarked in the resolutions of the April and November 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenums and the party's pregress documents repeatedly and from various angles. The topic of upgrading the role and significance of party member was voiced, one way or another, in all speeches. The combative nature of the party member, clarity of class positions, intolerance of any routine and stagnation, readiness to help comrades, sharp feeling of collectivism and socialist internationalism and impeccably pure morals not only make the party member the leader of his labor collective but also enhance as a whole the party's reputation and its leading role in building communism and strengthening its ties with the masses.

We cannot hope for any success in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development without a psychological change in the people's minds and unless the people learn to think and work in a new style. All ideological education should be concentrated on achieving such a change.

L. Galvyalene, Zarasayskiy party raykom first secretary, dedicated her almost entire speech to the experience acquired in the training of party members and in the ideological education of working people. She provided interesting data on organizational forms for political education and economic training and organizing work with the people. The practice of united policy days has been justified. During such days senior personnel not only of the rayon but of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee, the Lithuanian SSR Council of Ministers, the Lithuanian Komsomol Central Committee and other republic bodies address labor collectives and working people at their places of residence. The close friendship among the working people of Braslavskiy Rayon in Belorussia, Daugavpilsskiy Rayon in Latvia and Pylvaskiy Rayon in Estonia has had a beneficial impact on the internationalist upbringing of the rayons' multinational collectives. Nevertheless, L. Galvyalene pointed out, so far hasty and general-type measures and campaigns have still not been eliminated in mass political work. Speakers are not always aware of the features, needs and concerns of collectives they address.

According to A. Prashkyavichyus, rector of the Kaunas Medical Institute, the desired change must take place above all in the higher school which trains modern specialists. Cadre training is the most important area of party and state work. Yet today many gaps may be found in higher school activities. To a certain extent, training is alienated from reality and training technology is the most conservative element in the higher school system. The logic of student training must be brought closer to that of scientific research. It is only then that the students may be taught how to think independently.

S. Lissauskas, the republic's minister of internal affairs, having critically assessed the activities of law enforcement bodies, drew attention to serious omissions in educational work among young people, adolescents in particular, who, because of their age group, are most receptive to various negative influences. Any absence or weakness in sports, cultural and political education work occasionally leads to the fact that out of boredom adolescents begin to think of themselves as some kind of supermen, mimicking not only the fashion but other standards of bourgeois mass culture and bourgeois way of

life. Religious fanatics and nationalists, operating above all through foreign radio channels, as well as criminal elements, try to influence them. The delegates discussed the need to combine the efforts of the family, school, Komsomol and trade union, sports, defense, cultural education and other organizations and societies in the communist upbringing of the growing generation and its ideological-labor and moral tempering. This problem is by no means resolved yet and must be seriously taken up by party committees and organizations.

The republic has extensive forces with which to organize a militant and aggressive ideological education work. It has a strong Writers Union organization many of whose members have deservedly become world famous. Lithuanian actors and painters, architects and composers are famous for their great skills. The republic's amateur artistic activities have reached high standards. The basketball and soccer teams of the Zhalgiris Society enjoy large numbers of zealous fans. All of this, the accountability report noted, is yielding results. The political organs of the Baltic Military District and the Baltic Fleet are providing tremendous assistance in the military-patriotic upbringing of young people. As stated in the accountability report and the speech by V. Samoylenko, chief of the Baltic Military District Political Administration, and member of the military district's military council, they could be relied on even further. It would be difficult to overestimate of powerful mass information and propaganda media, such as the press, television and radio. All of them work in three languages (Lithuanian, Russian and Polish) and reach all areas in the republic. In a word, the necessary people are available. One must only be able skillfully to organize the coordinated interaction among all workers on the republic's ideological front in the struggle for the new man.

The congress delegates, representing all social, national and professional population groups, supported with complete unanimity the foreign policy of the CPSU and the peace initiatives of the Soviet state, presented in the declaration of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The Lithuanian people know from personal experience what a world war means and that a third world war must not take place, for it would mean the end of human civilization. However, the congress delegates did not limit themselves merely to approving the foreign policy actions of the Soviet state but also considered their place in the common struggle for peace and their personal participation in strengthening the economic and defense potential of the Soviet fatherland.

"During the Great Patriotic War," journalist, playwright and writer A. Laurinchyukas said, "on an average 15,000 Soviet people died every day. Were we to honor with 1 minute of silence all those who perished in the Great Patriotic War we would have to remain silent for an entire 38 years!"

"It is not possible to bow our heads for 38 years. However, we can honor their memory with our persistent efforts and by strengthening the country's economic and defense potential, so that nothing of the sort is ever repeated.

"That is what we are doing today and that is what we shall do in the future."

The regular congress of the Lithuanian party members was interesting and novel and quite useful in a number of ways. "To take practical experience into consideration, in order to reject what is harmful and combine all that is valuable, accurately define the set of immediate practical steps and implement them at all cost, stopping at no sacrifice," the great Lenin wrote in his time, "is the way we understand the tasks of our time and the tasks of the party congress" (op. cit., vol 40, p 144).

The Lithuanian party members seem to have implemented the first part of this advice, which was expanded and concretized in terms of the features of our time in the resolutions of the April and October CPSU Central Committee Plenums. They must now implement its second more difficult and labor-intensive part: to take the practical steps at all cost, stopping at nothing, remembering that both the domestic and foreign policy situation categorically forbid any reliance on "amending" earmarked plans.

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## INVIOABLE UNION

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[Article by A. Voss, USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities chairman]

[Text] The implementation of the Leninist national policy and the CPSU course of the blossoming of nations and nationalities and the steady rapprochement among them led to historical results in the socialist reorganization of national relations. The draft new edition of the CPSU program reasserts the conclusion that the national problem which was inherited by the Soviet Union has been solved successfully. Antagonism, alienation and inequality--anything which darkened relations among nations--no longer exist. The country's population is no longer divided into economically developed and backward nations. The very concept of "backward national outlying area" has disappeared from our vocabulary. All nations are working jointly for the sake of the blossoming of our fatherland and making a worthy contribution to its socialist development. M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, pointed out that "a feeling of belonging to a single family--to the Soviet people--as a new and historically unparalleled social and international community--has entered profoundly the minds and hearts of every person." The great accomplishments of the country of victorious socialism eliminated obstacles on the way to social progress and opened broad scope for constructive activities by all nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union.

The constructive nature of our country's development, which is turned to the future, is reflected in the drafts of the most important programmatic documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, published for the purpose of nationwide discussion. Based on the continuity of the Leninist national policy, they define the tasks relative to the further advancement of national relations at the present stage.

### I

The Great October Socialist Revolution, which was made under the leadership of the Communist Party, armed with Marxist-Leninist theory, broke the chains of social and national oppression in Russia and led all peoples in our country to independent historical creativity. The establishment of the power of the working class and the assertion of the social ownership of means of production laid firm foundations for the free development of all nations and

nationalities and their close unity and inviolable fraternal friendship. The experience of the Soviet state fully confirmed the important theoretical conclusion made by K. Marx to the effect that "the victory of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie is also a signal for the liberation of all oppressed nations" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 371).

Marx and Engels prophetically predicted in their "Communist Party Manifesto," which is an outstanding Marxist document, that "together with the antagonism among classes within nations, hostile relations among nations will disappear as well" (ibid., p 445).

In advancing the theory of Marx and Engels on the national problem under new historical conditions V.I. Lenin theoretically substantiated a number of important concepts related to resolving the practical problems of building a multinational state after the victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia. For the first time in history, Lenin's political thinking provided a scientific formulation of the right of nations to self-determination, including secession and establishment of independent states.

Lenin deserves outstanding credit also for the theoretical substantiation and practical structuring of the Soviet federation as the most important means of resolving the national problem and providing the most expedient form of national-state structure of the life of the numerous peoples within Russia.

All of these Leninist ideas on the national problem were reflected and codified in the constitutional acts of the Soviet state, which contained the basic principles of the national policy of the Soviet system, for the implementation of which many generations of oppressed nations and ethnic groups and many generations of revolutionary thinkers had fought. Lenin's merit is also that he scientifically substantiated the need for the closest possible alliance among Soviet republics in the struggle for resolving the common problems of socialist construction and defending the homeland from imperialist encroachments. He considered total reciprocal trust and voluntary agreement, excluding any forms of inequality in relations among nations, a guarantee for the solidity of this alliance.

The 1977 USSR Constitution and the constitutions of union and autonomous republics which were correspondingly adopted in 1978, are the concentrated expression of the most important and essential changes which had taken place in the economic, social and spiritual life of Soviet society as a result of the appearance of the new social and international community--the Soviet people. These documents firmly codify the basic foundations of the socialist way of life shared by all nations and nationalities in the USSR. The USSR Fundamental Law provides firm political and legal foundations for the further blossoming and rapprochement among all nations and nationalities in the country and the successful implementation of the Leninist national policy.

According to the constitution, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a single united multinational state founded on the basis of the Leninist principle of socialist federalism and as a result of the free self-determination of nations and the voluntary unification of equal republics. It clearly sets the most important characteristics of a single union state,



covering all major areas of its activities, systematically implemented in daily legislative practice and management.

The role of the international efforts of the peoples of our country and of all union republics in attaining the common objectives is enhanced under contemporary conditions. The significance of the centralized leadership provided by Soviet bodies in the decisive areas of social life is increasing steadily. The strengthening of union principles and the further consolidation of governmental unity within the country are combined with the enhanced role of union and autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts and okrugs in resolving problems of state, economic and sociocultural construction. The draft new edition of the CPSU program particularly emphasizes that combining the initiatives of union and autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts and okrugs with centralized management on a union-wide scale enables us to make efficient use of the resources of the entire country, local natural conditions and national characteristics.

A careful consideration of the interests and needs of nations and nationalities within union republics, autonomous republics and autonomous oblasts and okrugs, the organic combination of their interests with those of the entire Soviet people and the unification of the efforts of all working people within the single process of building communism are the focal point of CPSU attention. The party sees to it sensitively that the new problems which inevitably arise in the development of a large multinational state such as our country, are promptly and fully reflected in the activities of party, state and economic bodies and social organizations.

## II

The soviets of people's deputies play a special role in resolving the tasks set by the party in national construction. As A.A. Gromyko, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman, emphasized, through their work they "combine and express the will of the people and their needs; they combine national with local interests and implement the current and long-term party targets and the objectives of our great plans.

The CPSU is always concerned with comprehensively improving the activities of the soviets of people's deputies, which are the political foundations of the USSR and the main link in the people's socialist self-management. The party aspires to the further enhancement of the role of state bodies of republics, autonomous oblasts and autonomous okrugs in the implementation of national objectives and in seeing to it that the working people of all nationalities actively participate in the work of power and management bodies.

Thus, deputies representing 63 nations and nationalities were elected to the USSR Supreme Soviet, 11th convocation, and to both chambers. The USSR Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities has 750 deputies representing not only nations and ethnic groups with national statehood but also ethnic entities in our country. The current supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics include representatives of 78 nations and ethnic groups and the local soviets

of people's deputies have representatives of more than 100 (105 in the RSFSR, 78 in the Ukrainian SSR and 74 in the Kazakh SSR).

Throughout the existence of the USSR, the soviets have reflected in their activities the common, the international interests of all nations and nationalities, taking into consideration their specific features. It is precisely this interaction between the two principles that contributed to strengthening the reputation of the Soviet authorities among the broad toiling masses of all nationalities, rallied within a single and united family of Soviet peoples.

The supreme and local state power bodies always concentrate on problems related to the development of friendship and cooperation among the peoples of the USSR, as seen by the number of laws they have passed. For example, on 12 January 1983 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium passed a special decree "On the Tasks of Soviets of People's Deputies for the Further Development of Friendship and Cooperation Among the Peoples of the USSR and the International Upbringing of the Working People." On 11 October 1983 the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium passed the decree "On the Work of the Soviets of People's Deputies of the Udmurt ASSR and Altay Kray for the Further Development of Friendship and Cooperation Among the Peoples of the USSR and the International Upbringing of the Working People in the Light of the Resolutions of the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum."

All republics actively joined in the implementation of the tasks based on the resolutions of the April 1985 and subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums on problems of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. These problems were considered at the plenums of the central committees of communist parties of union republics and at sessions of superior and local state bodies. In September 1985 the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium discussed the following items: "On the Work of the Soviets of People's Deputies in Gorkiy Oblast on Properly Welcoming the 27th CPSU Congress," and "On the Work of the Presidium of the LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on Perfecting the Leadership of the Activities of Local Soviets of People's Deputies in the Light of the Resolutions of the April and July 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenums."

The presidiums of the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics and the local soviets and their bodies have been instructed, guided by the resolutions of the April and July 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenums, to ensure the further improvement of organizational and educational work and to direct it toward substantially accelerating the country's socioeconomic development and national economic intensification on the basis of scientific and technical progress and restructuring the system of economic management and administration, strengthening state and labor discipline and energizing the creativity of the masses in honor of the 27th CPSU Congress.

The implementation of the party's large-scale stipulations in the economic, social and ideological areas is the task of the entire people. The efficient interaction among all union republics, their reciprocal aid and exchange of progressive experience are particularly important in their practical implementation.

As practical experience confirms, many local soviets do not always pay suitable attention to problems directly related to the living and working conditions of the Soviet people, particularly in the construction and use of housing facilities, increasing the production and improving the quality of consumer goods and completing projects for sociocultural and consumer services. The soviets must always be concerned with problems of improving the setting up of multinational labor collectives, the efficient utilization of manpower and increasing the number of indigenous workers in many industrial and construction sectors.

In the course of their practical activities the soviets must take into consideration major demographic changes. Many of the national and territorial formations which consisted of a single ethnic group at the time of their establishment have become multinational. The intensification of the international principles in all areas of social life raises new problems and demands more advanced means and methods of work by the soviets of people's deputies, combining national with union-wide interests. Problems related to the further strengthening of the Soviet multinational state and the fraternal friendship among the peoples of the USSR require special profound and comprehensive studies.

It appears expedient in this connection to support the suggestion to set up a special scientific research center which could conduct systematic scientific research in the area of national relations.

The problems of the further internationalization of state and social life in union republics and national autonomous areas could be especially discussed at sessions of soviets and meetings of working people. They should always be in the focal point of attention of the soviets of people's deputies of all levels. The soviets must always bear in mind that the joint labor by people of different nationalities contributes to the unification of the peoples and to strengthening their fraternal friendship and cooperation. It is precisely to this effect that we must comprehensively encourage the establishment of multinational collectives in production, science, higher education, culture, health care and services.

Furthermore, the soviets of people's deputies and their bodies must firmly block displays of harmful traditions and customs, national exclusivity, boastfulness and disrespect toward other nations and nationalities. They must promote among the population scientific-atheistic beliefs. Clear stipulations to this effect are found in the draft of the new edition of the CPSU program.

### III

The CPSU believes that under contemporary conditions the all-round progress made by Soviet society and advance toward communism can be ensured through the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. This strategic course is also aimed at energizing the entire system of political, social and ideological institutions, and at the further strengthening of the economic unity among union republics.

With the all-round advancement of socialism, the single national economic complex of the country, which is the material foundation for the friendship and fraternity among people, is developing successfully. The Soviet republics are solving the key problem of social progress--production intensification. The party's course is one of accelerated growth of the material and spiritual potential of each republic and its maximal utilization for the harmonious development of the entire country.

The draft Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Through the Year 2000 stipulates the further dynamic growth of all national formations in the country. In the Russian Federation, machine building and the natural gas, chemical and microbiological industries will be developed at an accelerated pace. A characteristic feature of the republic's new 5-year plan will be the further establishment of territorial-production complexes and industrial centers. The contribution of the Russian Federation to the implementation of the USSR Energy Program as well will become quite tangible. The petroleum resources of West Siberia will be developed at an accelerated pace. The Yamalo-Nenetsk and Khanty-Mansiysk Autonomous Okrugs will be developed further. Ukrainian and Belorussian industry will continue to develop at a high pace; machine building for a number of sectors in the food industry, which will compensate for wine making, will be developed in the union republics of the Transcaucasus; in addition to increased cotton growing specialization, related sectors (cotton processing, agricultural machine building, production of chemical fertilizers, the textile industry) will be developed in the union republics of Central Asia. Gas extraction and petroleum refining will be developed in the Georgian SSR and nonferrous metallurgy in the Tajik and Kirghiz SSRs. The Baltic republics will continue to increase their specialization in machine building and development of the meat and dairy industry and consumer goods production.

The economic equalization among republics was essentially achieved at the beginning of the 1970s. This is an outstanding accomplishment of the Soviet system and one of the main prerequisites in shaping the unified national economic complex of the USSR.

Upgrading the pace of scientific and technical progress on a national scale and in the republic units of the all-union national economic complex plays a key role in the acceleration of socioeconomic development. In addition to the growth of its production and scientific and technical potential, each republic will make profound qualitative changes in the structure of its economic complexes; technical retooling and comprehensive intensification of output will be achieved through the fuller utilization of natural and manpower resources and capital assets. The rationalization of interrepublic economic ties will play a major role in increasing intensive economic development.

In accordance with the draft Basic Directions, during the 12th 5-Year Plan Soviet industrial output will increase by 21-24 percent, as follows: RSFSR, 20-23 percent; the Belorussian, Georgian, Azeri and Moldavian republics, 22-25 percent; the Uzbek SSR, 24-27 percent; the Armenian SSR, 24-26 percent; the Kazakh and Tajik SSRs, 23-26 percent. Therefore, a faster growth rate of output for the individual republics, compared with the average union indicators is contemplated.

Public production efficiency in the union republics depends on the steadily developing interrepublic division of labor and expanded territorial production relations. The higher level of contemporary production forces intensifies the interdependence among the economies of union republics as parts of the single production organism. The role of each union republic has significantly increased within the territorial division of labor. The participation of the republics in expanded reproduction is determined, above all, by their sectorial specialization. The enhanced role of the republics in interrepublic trade, related to the growth of their economic potential, is one of their characteristic features.

The further development of the territorial division of labor legitimately enhances the significance of the well-organized and coordinated work of enterprises in all union republics and the implementation of plans for the procurement of great varieties of goods and contractual obligations. Collectives in other republics are making increasing labor contributions to the achievements of the individual republics.

The further blossoming and rapprochement among socialist nations and nationalities are related to the nature of participation in public production of the working people, who are the main productive force of society. As a result of specific socioeconomic conditions governing population reproduction, each republic is taking specific steps for the efficient utilization of its labor potential.

The increased efficiency with which manpower is utilized within the framework of long-term comprehensive programs, with steps differentiated by republics and rayons, is of exceptionally important economic, social and political significance and is closely related to the advancement of national relations. In republics with manpower surpluses, for example, the fuller involvement of the native population, which is growing at a high rate, is a topical problem. Still, indigenous workers at the Steam Locomotives and Freight Car Repairs Plant imeni Oktyabrskaya Revolyutsiya, Uzbek SSR, account for no more than 19 percent of the entire personnel; they account for 15 percent at the Podyemnik Plant and 29 percent at the Tractors Plant. A similar situation has developed in the chemical, petrochemical, machine building and metal processing and other leading sectors in the Uzbek SSR. Suitable material and organizational conditions must be provided to correct the situation: fuller involvement of the indigenous population in industrial sectors, accelerated pace of upgrading cadre skills and improving the vocational guidance of young people, consistent with the socioeconomic prerequisites for encouraging population mobility and involving women in public production. This requires strengthening the industrial base of the republics and the implementation of a broad range of social measures.

The development of natural resources in the eastern part of the country and the establishment of a system of territorial-production complexes here is being carried out in the interest of all nations and nationalities. In turn, the increased participation of labor collectives from all republics in the development of Siberia and the Far East presumes the implementation of plans for the creation of conditions which will contribute to retaining highly skilled cadres in the areas under development.

In connection with the need to accelerate scientific and technical progress in the country, the role of cooperation, such as the exchange of technical achievements and progressive production experience, will increase, helped by the mass organization of republic and all-union advanced experience courses.

The socioeconomic foundations for the unity and friendship among socialist nations strengthen with the development of the economy of union republics and the advancement of the entire system of socialist production relations. The progress of the united national economic complex is steadily improving opportunities for the ever fuller satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual requirements of all Soviet nations and nationalities.

#### IV

The solution of the national problem was most clearly manifested in the blossoming of the country's national cultures, their reciprocal enrichment and convergence and the creation of a single multinational culture of the Soviet people, socialist in content, varied in terms of national forms and internationalist in spirit.

It is difficult to imagine today that in the first years after the October Revolution, books were published in no more than 20 languages in our country, with its more than 100 nations and nationalities. However, as early as 1934 delegates from 52 literatures with languages of their own took part in the work of the First All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers. As A.M. Gorkiy pointed out in opening the congress, "they acted in front of the entire world as a single entity, bound by their unity... of feelings, wishes and purpose."

At the 5th USSR Writers' Congress, in 1971, 75 languages were represented. In the memory of today's readers, 50 literatures have covered the fast path of development from folklore and traditions of oral folk creativity to the peaks of socialist realism. Talented representatives of national literatures appeared, who earned all-union and worldwide recognition. Similar processes took place in other areas of culture and creativity, related to the birth of new forms, genres and types of art.

The Russian language and its steadily developing and strengthening internationalist mission, plays a tremendous role in the social and spiritual progress of all nations and nationalities in the Soviet Union. Fluency in Russian, in addition to one's national language, voluntarily accepted by the Soviet people as a means of international intercourse, broadens access to the achievements of science, technology and domestic and world culture. That is why the Russian language is another factor in the development of the national cultures themselves. It is being mastered by an increasing number of members of all nations and nationalities in our country. According to the 1979 all-union population census, 214.8 million of the 262.1 million-strong population were fluent in Russian. All in all, more than 60 percent of the non-Russian population in the country uses the Russian language as a means of communication and knowledge, considering it its second language.

The equalization of the national intelligentsia in the union republics is a confirmation of the cultural changes which have taken place under the Soviet

system and are unprecedented in global historical practices. For a long time the intelligentsia, the scientific and technical intelligentsia in particular, was extremely small in Central Asia and Kazakhstan. The 1939 census shows that scientific workers per 10,000 population numbered no more than two Turkmens, Uzbeks, Tajiks and Kazakhs and one Kirghiz. According to the same data, engineers and technicians per 10,000 population totaled 63 Uzbeks, 55 Tajiks, and 45 Kirghiz, compared with 405 Georgians and 467 Armenians. In 1984 people with higher and secondary (full and partial) training per 1,000 people employed in the national economy equaled 868 in the USSR at large, 915 in Armenia, 886 in Azerbaijan, 902 in Georgia, 869 in Kazakhstan, 869 in Kirghiziya, 907 in Uzbekistan, and so on.

The faster growth rates of national cadres of scientific workers among previously backward peoples are indicative. Whereas from 1940 to the beginning of the 1980s the overall number of scientific workers in the country had increased by a factor of almost 14, the respective figures were more than 24 for Kirghiziya and 21 for Kazakhstan and Tajikistan.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program clearly formulates the new tasks in perfecting national relations: comprehensive strengthening and development of the Soviet multinational state; growth of the material and spiritual potential of each republic within the single national economic complex; development of a single culture of the Soviet people, socialist in content, varied in national forms and internationalist in spirit, based on the best achievements and original progressive traditions of the peoples of the USSR.

These problems must be resolved in accordance with the specific conditions of the individual republics. The cultural standards of the population within the republics remain unequal in all most important features. Thus, the share of specialists with higher training in the employed population of the individual republics continues to show substantial differences, due to the characteristics of historical development of the peoples of the USSR. Another problem is the uneven development of cultural institutions as a result of lagging in the construction of sociocultural projects. In 1984, for the USSR as a whole, public libraries were available to 53.7 percent of the population, although respective figures for Azerbaijan and Armenia were 46.1 and 44.2. Average motion-picture attendance is 16 per year per resident of Kazakhstan and the Ukraine and no more than 10-12 for Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Kirghiziya. The location of cultural institutions, their distance from urban centers, and so on, is another contributing factor. Conversely, in the highly urbanized republics these indicators are significantly higher. Latvia and Estonia are in a leading position among the Soviet republics and ahead of many European countries in frequency of theater attendance.

The acceleration of sociocultural progress guarantees all nations and nationalities opportunities for their fullest self-expression and fruitful mutual creative exchanges. The multinational and multilingual cultures of the peoples of the USSR form an indivisible ideological and aesthetic unity. "The growth and rapprochement among national cultures," the draft new edition of the CPSU program emphasizes, "and the strengthening of their interrelationship make their reciprocal enrichment increasingly fruitful and

offer the Soviet people the broadest possible opportunities for exposure to everything valuable created through the talent of each nation in our country."

## V

Patriotic and internationalist upbringing is a major factor in perfecting national relations in the USSR. The draft new edition of the CPSU program stipulates that the party will continue tirelessly to work for combining within the Soviet people pride in the homeland, in the land where he was born and raised, and pride in the historical accomplishments of the first socialist state in the world, with proletarian and socialist internationalism, with a feeling of class solidarity with the working people in the fraternal countries and anyone fighting against imperialism and for peace and social progress.

The objective of internationalist and patriotic upbringing on the ideological and political level is to instill in the minds of every Soviet person and in the daily life of the broad masses the morality of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism. It is only on the basis of such awareness that we can reject national limitations and reach a clear understanding of the international tasks set by the party. The socially responsible behavior of all members of society can be shaped on the basis of high civic-mindedness which also helps to mobilize the creative forces of the working people and to promote conscientious and initiative-minded work.

At the present stage in the development of socialism in the USSR the content of the work of the Soviet people becomes more complex and richer. "Labor," states the draft new edition of the CPSU program, "is the basic source of the material and spiritual wealth of society and the main criterion for the social reputation of a person. It is his sacred obligation and the foundation for the communist upbringing of the individual." Under the conditions of accelerated scientific and technical progress and the struggle for production intensification there is no place for indifference and irresponsibility concerning labor obligations; success in solving the national tasks set by the party is possible only if all working people become profoundly involved.

Tireless exposure of nationalism and anticommunism is needed and an effective struggle must be waged against nationalistic propaganda in the course of the intensification of the internationalist awareness of the Soviet people and the development of socialist values.

Internationalist and patriotic upbringing interacts with all other areas of communist education. The shaping of a Marxist-Leninist outlook and a communist attitude toward labor as well as atheistic, moral and other forms of upbringing contribute to strengthening the feeling of Soviet patriotism.

The still encountered vestiges, prejudices and manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism and national nihilism are obstacles to perfecting the patriotic and international consciousness of the individual in our country. Such prejudices remain even after the objective prerequisites for any kind of antagonism in relations among nations have long disappeared. We must not forget that nationalistic prejudices are encouraged in all possible ways from the outside, by the ideologues of the bourgeois world. Our class opponents seize with the



greatest zeal upon any manifestations of this kind, inflating and encouraging them in their effort to weaken the unity among the peoples of our country.

Taking into consideration the need to uproot negative phenomena, the party directs all party, state and public bodies to develop an atmosphere of intolerance toward money grubbers, waste-makers, parasites, drunks, bureaucrats, managers who are careless, indifferent and irresponsible, and all bearers of antipatriotic behavior, even more persistently and consistently, using the entire arsenal of educational and legal instruments.

The most important task in our entire ideological work is to promote a profound understanding of the commonality of interests of the Soviet people and the feeling that all peoples in the USSR are members of a single family. It is characteristic of the Soviet people that awareness of their affiliation with the Soviet nation does not conflict in the least with the awareness that they are members of a given nation or ethnic group. This has been achieved as a result of the long united life and struggles of the working people, great historical experience and tremendous educational work by the CPSU.

As typical features of the Soviet person, an internationalist awareness and a national self-awareness are shaped, above all, by Soviet reality itself, by socialist reality and the comprehensive participation of everyone in building communism. Naturally, this requires the conscious and purposeful activities of the party and the state. The draft new edition of the CPSU program stipulates that "the CPSU will persistently strive to promote in every Soviet person the feelings of friendship and fraternity uniting all nations and nationalities in the USSR, high standards of international intercourse, intolerance of manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism, national exclusivity and national egotism and customs and mores which hinder the communist renovation of life and the individual."

## VI

The successful implementation of the Leninist national policy and strengthening the friendship and fraternity among all nations and nationalities in our country are of tremendous international significance. The experience acquired in resolving the national problem in the USSR is becoming a matter of increased interest throughout the world. It is studied and used by the peoples of the socialist and developing countries. This experience frequently becomes the center of ideological and political struggle in the international arena.

Contemporary social practices convincingly prove the continuing gravity of the national problem in the bourgeois world.

Mankind sees the country of the October Revolution as the model of inviolable friendship among socialist nations and nationalities. Real life proved Lenin's prediction to the effect that socialism creates entirely new national relations without inequality and domination and subordination characteristic of the capitalist world.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program offers a comprehensive analysis of the stimulating effect on the global revolutionary process of the Leninist consistently internationalist domestic and foreign party policy and the unparalleled successes achieved by the Soviet people in solving the national problem.

The theoretical and political principles governing relations among nations and nationalities, formulated by the Leninist party and tested by many years of practice in building socialism and communism, have been made accessible to the world's socialist community, as vividly manifested in the intensification of the political, ideological and economic cooperation among the socialist states and the unity of their peace-loving foreign policy activities.

The emergence of the global socialist system created a new type of international relations based on the principles of equality, comradely mutual aid and mutual benefit and the unity of interests of individual countries and the community as a whole.

The practical implementation of the principles of socialist internationalism in economic cooperation was of tremendous importance in the successful solution of the basic problems of building socialism and the all-round rapprochement among socialist states. The aid provided by the Soviet Union to the countries which had entered the path of socialism had a tremendous influence on the establishment of a new type of international economic relations. The CEMA countries gained rich experience in the coordinated and mutually profitably solution of major national economic problems on an international basis. All European CEMA countries became industrially developed states. Thousands of industrial enterprises were created, a system of guaranteed fuel and raw material supplies was established, a stable market for finished products was secured and large-scale joint projects were implemented, unprecedented in global practical experience.

The decisions made at the CEMA economic summit were a new confirmation of the growing unity within the socialist community. They marked a transition to a qualitatively new level of interaction among socialist countries. A comprehensive program for scientific and technical progress of CEMA members and, in some areas, a unified scientific and technical policy, were adopted.

The successes and achievements reached in resolving the national problem in the USSR and the other socialist countries are particularly striking against the background of the constant racial and national conflicts with which the political and social atmosphere in many capitalist countries is so heavily saturated. However much bourgeois ideologues are trying to distort the nature of the CPSU's Leninist national policy and however they may be embellishing capitalist reality, life and historical experience irrefutably prove that the national problem, which is one of the most complex and crucial problems of mankind, can be solved successfully and systematically only through socialist development.

In speaking of the attraction felt by the peoples of the world for the example set by the first socialist state, including its experience in resolving the national problem, Lenin wrote: "The example of the socialist Soviet republic

in Russia will stand as a living model to the peoples of all countries and the propagandist and revolutionizing effect of this example will be gigantic" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 250). This example is of particular importance to the young states which have recently rejected the colonial yoke. The peoples of the developing world see in the historical experience of our country in resolving the national problem an inspiring possibility of resolving their own problems and in the struggle for strengthening national independence and social progress.

The national aspect has always played an important role in the liberation movement. Practical experience indicates that many problems in the developing countries are directly related to gaining freedom from colonial and neocolonial dependence, strengthening national sovereignty and engaging in independent development.

The USSR Supreme Soviet declaration to all peoples and parliaments in the world, of 30 years ago, was a powerful incentive for establishing and developing direct relations among parliaments of different countries regardless of sociopolitical system. The Soviet Union was visited by 285 parliamentary delegations from 105 countries. This helped to strengthen reciprocal understanding among peoples and governments of different countries. Soviet support of peace was manifested vividly once again in the broad peaceful initiatives formulated in Comrade M.S. Gorbachev's 15 January 1986 declaration, which is a comprehensive program for reducing nuclear armaments and other types of mass destruction weapons and their total elimination.

Expressing the will of the entire Soviet people, on 20 January the USSR Supreme Soviet appealed to the U.S. Congress to follow the example of the Soviet Union and to see to it through joint efforts that the nuclear threat is lifted once and for all and a durable peace prevail on our planet.

The CPSU's Leninist national policy and historical experience in the national and social development of all peoples in the Soviet Union itself have a tremendous revolutionary influence on the contemporary world and are a support for all revolutionary and democratic forces. International by nature, this experience has long been available to all progressive mankind. It actively serves the lofty and humane objectives of the defense of peace, understanding among nations, national liberation, democracy and social progress.

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ON THE DRAFT CPSU PROGRAM AND BASIC DIRECTIONS IN THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE USSR IN 1986-1990 AND THE PERIOD UNTIL THE YEAR 2000

PROGRAM FOR A GREAT CREATION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 60-61

[Article by Academician F. Konstantinov, USSR Philosophical Society president]

[Text] Marxism-Leninism--an integral system of philosophical, economic and scientific-communist revolutionary views of the working class which reflects the objective laws of global development and the experience in the class struggle waged by the people's masses against the exploiters and for the creation of a new socioeconomic system--unquestionably holds a leading position among the highest achievements of science and the most significant cultural values.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program creatively develops all structural components of Marxism-Leninism. In philosophy attention is focused on basic problems of dialectical and historical materialism and scientific communism. It is being emphasized that Marxism-Leninism is an integral revolutionary theory. While approving this document, it seems to me suitable that the thesis directly related to philosophy (see Section V, Part 2, Subsection 3, third Paragraph) read as follows: "Dialectical materialism was and remains the essential and tried foundation for social and natural science knowledge. Marxist-Leninist methodology is the only reliable foundation for theory and practice in social relations. On this level methodological discipline is a prerequisite for the effectiveness of creative searches and developments. Marxism-Leninism is an eternally living and developing theory which must be creatively enriched and skillfully applied further."

Section V, Part 2, deals in its entirety with the spiritual sphere in social life; its fourth subsection discusses cultural building. In my view, here a further definition of culture, as universally accepted in Marxist-Leninist literature, should be provided: Culture is the sum total of achievements of society in its material and spiritual development, used by society, consisting of cultural traditions and serving the further progress of mankind. Without this concept, culture may seem to be limited merely to within an aesthetic-artistic framework, although it is a comprehensive characterization of society, expressing the level of historical development it has reached and the level of relationship of man toward nature and the social environment, including not only the results and potential of spiritual production but also the achievements of materially reorganizing activities with corresponding social relations.

The Marxist concept of culture is based on that of the organic unity between material and spiritual culture. The material foundations of culture, production relations above all, play a decisive role in its development. It would be expedient to add the following to the preamble of this section: "In building a communist socioeconomic system, the Soviet people are strengthening the foundations of a qualitatively new type of culture, the most important objective of which is the shaping of a comprehensively developed individual embodying the highest achievements of mankind."

Our party's programmatic document directs Soviet philosophers to upgrading the level of their research and strengthening their role in the ideological sphere and in molding the scientific outlook of the working people. The methodological importance of Marxist-Leninist philosophy to working people in all fields and professions is obvious. In close cooperation with economists, sociologists, historians, jurists, psychologists, representatives of all sciences and workers in culture and the arts, the philosophers must actively resolve the vital problems raised by the current practice in building communism. The greatest of attention must be focused on the fundamental problems of today's life and the most important tasks of our time. This demands intensified scientific study of the objective contradictions in socialist society and substantiation of recommendations for their resolution, reliable economic and social forecasts and studies of the dialectics of development of production forces and production relations and of interactions between the material and spiritual spheres of socialism and changes in its superstructure; perfecting socialist consciousness and asserting social justice, the communist ideal and the systematic spiritual progress of Soviet society as a whole; ensuring the social and economic prerequisites for the further solution of the problems of communist upbringing and the ideological and moral shaping of the person of the new world. The draft new edition of the CPSU program also emphasizes that the efforts of social scientists should be concentrated on the comprehensive study of experience gained in creating a new society in the USSR and the other socialist countries and in global developments.

It is important to add to this that every Soviet social scientist must also be a zealous propagandist and agitator, an active participant in ideological and political education work. The main prerequisite for creative successes is the direct link between Soviet philosophers and party-political practice.

The CPSU statutes speak of the increased role of social organizations. This assigns major responsibility to the USSR Philosophical Society as well. All of its activities are aimed at the further creative development and dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory. Accepting with all our hearts the tasks which are now formulated by the party, like all Soviet scientists, we shall spare no efforts to resolve the basic problems of socialist society.

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## ON THE DIALECTICS OF SOCIALIST DEVELOPMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) p 61

[Article by Professor S. Dudel, doctor of philosophical sciences]

[Text] The draft new edition of the CPSU program provides an outstanding example of the creative development of dialectical materialism and its effective application to the highest stage of social progress achieved by mankind--socialism.

The stipulations in the draft which direct us toward scientifically substantiated recommendations of ways of identifying and resolving objective contradictions within socialism (see Part 2, Section II, Subsection 3, as well as Section V, Subsection 3) are theoretically tested, and accurate in content and form.

Nevertheless, in our view the formulation found in Part 3, Section I of the document, which stipulates that the solution of the new and difficult problems of social development of the socialist countries "is linked to struggle and searches and the surmounting of contradictions and difficulties" must be refined: contradictions and difficulties are not one and the same. It would be expedient to say that the solution of the new and difficult problems is related "to surmounting difficulties and resolving contradictions" (as has been written in the parts of the draft we already noted).

Section I of Part 2 of the draft reads as follows: "The material and technical base of communism presumes the creation of the type of production forces which provide opportunities for the full satisfaction of the sensible needs of society and the individual." This stipulation does not emphasize the dialectical contradiction between production and consumption, the full satisfaction of which under communism will create new and even higher needs, which, as F. Engels foresaw, "will be a prerequisite and incentive for further progress" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 334). In my view, the following should follow the words "such production forces:" "which, by creating ever higher needs in society and the individual, offer the possibility of their total satisfaction." This addition is the natural

extension of the though included in the draft to the effect that in the course of the advancement of socialism "a systematic turn toward the fuller satisfaction of the growing needs of the Soviet people will take place" (Part 2, Section II, Subsection 2). Under communism the law of increased needs will remain in effect.

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## MOBILIZING THE HUMAN FACTOR IN THE PRODUCTION SPHERE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 61-62

[Article by Dr of Juridical Sciences Ye. Torkanovskiy]

[Text] Increasing the contribution of every working person to the common cause of accelerating the development of the national economy is a mandatory prerequisite for reaching the standards stipulated in the programmatic documents. That is why the party relates the successful solution of the problems to the intensified role of the human factor.

The personal interest and responsible participation of the working people and their collectives in the implementation of set assignments is reflected not only in enhanced labor activeness but also in the increasing involvement of the working people in the production management process.

The participation of the working people in production management is an objective prerequisite for the normal functioning and advancement of relations of ownership by the whole people and an intrinsic feature of the socialist economic system. Hence the exceptionally important conclusion that the implementation of relations of ownership by the whole people requires involving not only the progressive and most active part of the working people and not even their majority in production management but, as V.I. Lenin said, the literal involvement of all working people in direct production management. It seems expedient, therefore, to stipulate in the CPSU program that the party will systematically pursue a line of participation of all working people in production management.

The growing practice of socialist self-government by the people on the basis of the daily, active and effective participation of the working people and their collectives and organizations not only in discussing but also resolving problems of state and social life is a new and very important stipulation included in the draft. It has been systematically reflected in the section on the political system of Soviet society. At the same time, the draft describes the labor collective as well as the effective social nucleus of socialist self-government. This, however, is insufficient. Production self-management by labor collectives, enterprises and production associations is an inseparable component of socialist people's self-government.



The party considers socialist production self-management in close connection with centralized economic management, based on the principle of democratic centralism, which enables us successfully to combine the broad participation of the masses in management with the unified system of state economic management. In the socialist stage, the state form is the only possible form of ownership by the whole people, directly expressing the fact that the means of production belong to the entire society and the manner in which rule by the people and the appropriation of the factors and results of associated work are realized. Under these circumstances, i.e., in the absence of any other social form capable of ensuring centralized management on the national economic level, the functioning of a "nongovernmental" economy is pure utopia. Therefore, like any other self-government under socialism, production management is inconceivable without state ownership and centralized economic management. Therefore, socialist production management should take place not as a counterbalance to the activities of economic managers but together with them. Furthermore, it requires the active, interested and daily attention of production leaders in the creation of the necessary conditions for the development of self-government principles. One can confidently claim that wherever production self-management is not supported by the economic managers it cannot develop successfully. Equally accurate, however, is the fact that wherever it does not develop, we cannot speak of mobilizing the human factor or of high level management and the observance of contemporary requirements by such managers.

At the present stage of social development, collective (brigade above all) forms of labor organization and incentive are most suitable for the implementation of self-government principles in production management. The results of the application of such methods are the consequence of a personally involved attitude toward the project, developed and strengthened in the course of the implementation of self-management functions. Therefore, the profound foundation for such progressive forms of labor organization and their socioeconomic pivot are the exercise by the working people of their rights as responsible production managers achieved through production self-management. In this case, there is a feedback as well. The use of collective forms of labor organization and incentive not only provides an entirely tangible increase in social production efficiency but also trains real owners who feel responsible for its fate.

Consequently, it seems expedient especially to emphasize in the subsection on "Perfecting Socialist Production Relations and the System of Management and Economic Management Methods" in the new draft program both the important role of socialist production self-management in mobilizing the human factor and the need for the further development of collective forms of labor organization and incentive and, above all, upgrading the quality features of the brigade form.

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## NOT PRODUCTION, BUT REPRODUCTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) p 63

[Article by Academician, Hero of Socialist Labor and Laureate of Lenin Prize V. Mishin]

[Text] In our view, the ways and means of development of socialist production are not fully described in the subsection "Structural Reorganization of Public Production" in the draft new edition of the CPSU program. This has been reflected in the very heading of the subsection which, we believe, should have a clearer formulation, as follows: "Systematic Restructuring of Socialist Reproduction." It also would be expedient to include the following in this subsection:

The obligation of collectives of industrial enterprises to perfect production technology systematically (in a coordinated manner);

Training industrial cadres (including within the Ministry of Education system) as an intrinsic structural component of the socialist reproduction process;

The importance of ensuring priority development to the training-scientific and method base of secondary and higher technical schools and use its possibilities for integration with the scientific and production base.

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## SHARP UPSURGE IN INVENTIONS NEEDED

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 63-64

[Article by V. Ovchinnikov, honored inventor of RSFSR]

[Text] Our party has charted a course of radical acceleration of scientific and technical progress, without which no sharp turn can be made toward production intensification. This means that the basic motive forces of scientific and technical progress must be maximally mobilized and efficiently used.

Which are these forces and what is the connection between them? The principal among them is science with its several thousand academic and sectorial scientific research institutes, their branches and departments and several hundred VUZs. The overall number of scientific workers in the country (including scientific-pedagogical VUZ cadres) was about 1.5 million people at the beginning of 1986, submitting roughly 150,000 scientific and technical reports every year on research and development results.

Most such results cannot be directly put to practical use without the step leading from scientific result to technical solution, and providing the practical possibility of making technological use of the scientific idea, i.e., invention.

However, promising scientific ideas which open the way to major discoveries are relatively rare among the numerous scientific results, particularly those generated in sectorial scientific research institutes, where the typical research and development trends do not include major improvements in sectorial output and produced items. This is further worsened by the fact that the search for new technical solutions is usually done by the researchers, most of whom are inexperienced in technical creativity and inventions.

I therefore consider expedient that the following change be made in the text of the new draft of the CPSU program: add "and subsequent invention research" after the words "the party will comprehensively contribute to the further growth and efficient utilization of the country's scientific and technical potential and the development of scientific research....," in the second part of the document on speeding up scientific and technical progress.

The thoughts concerning inventions in the broadest meaning of the word lead to the idea that in addition to the organized work of inventors in the various areas developed by sectorial science, there also should be inventions "in the long term," in areas which are not as yet ready for planned development in a scientific research institute or design bureau. It is particularly in this area that the specific harnessing of invention possibilities will be necessary.

Finally, a still largely unsolved problem arises, that of the utilization of production inventions. The fact that our production system is poorly receptive to the achievements of scientific and technical progress is common knowledge. Obviously, this obstacle can be surmounted only by taking radical steps to improve the economic mechanism as a whole.

Furthermore, there are lesser obstacles which could be surmounted through individual constructive steps on the basis of available experience.

As we know, the development of inventions under laboratory conditions and the construction and technological testing of an industrial prototype for new equipment, including the development of the technical process for its manufacturing, are not included in the production activities of the typical industrial enterprise, for which reason they are not welcomed with enthusiasm.

The radical solution of the problem calls for completing all the work for the creation of the first industrial prototype and development of the technology for its manufacturing within the shortest possible time (otherwise the new item will become morally obsolete before its production) and on a high quality level (otherwise it will not be competitive). Most frequently this is beyond the possibilities of a sectorial enterprise. Consequently, such work should be assigned to intersectorial application organizations (firms). In my view, it would be expedient to combine application forces in the country and to create from them an extrasectorial complex specializing in the practical utilization of the achievements of science and technology (i.e., of inventions).

Such an extrasectorial application complex, within in the USSR Gosplan system, for example, with the active participation of the State Committee for Science and Technology and under the influence of the USSR Academy of Sciences, could control the most important levers governing the acceleration of scientific and technical progress.

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## TOTAL COST ACCOUNTING

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 64-65

[Article by CPSU members Dr of Economic Sciences V. Perlamutrov, V. Pronin, section chief, Second State Bearings Plant, L. Sokolovskiy, dr of economic sciences; and L. Troparevskaya, candidate of economic sciences]

[Text] The draft new edition of the CPSU program (Section II, Subsection "Perfecting Socialist Production Relations, the Management System and Economic Management Methods") defines the future development of cost accounting. It seems to us that it would be expedient for the essence of total cost accounting to be presented here more extensively.

Above all, in our view, we should proceed from the fact that total cost accounting is a category of the intensively developing socialist economy.

Since economic management intensification is based on increased development and use of new equipment and technology, cost accounting should take a sharp turn toward the long-term tasks of collectives, including the technical standard of output, and the timely updating of productive capital and manufactured output. In other words, total cost accounting must be oriented toward reproduction rather than simply production tasks.

Furthermore, under intensification conditions, the direct objective of the activities of enterprises, associations, procurement-marketing, design-engineering and other economic organizations is the "direct" satisfaction of social needs which, in terms of the collective operating on a cost accounting basis, assume the shape of consumer demand. It is precisely on this basis that the cost-accounting collective can ensure the recovery of the basis capital and generate income for wages based on labor, fulfilling state budget obligations and meeting other needs. The fuller and more efficient satisfaction of needs is the crucial aspect combining all sides of the work, such as daily activities and long-term development of equipment, technology and production organization. Furthermore, as total cost accounting is established, unsold output stored in the producers' warehouses will become the criterion in assessing the work of the enterprises; the end result will be the level of satisfaction of consumer demand (orders) based on contracts.

For the time being, the results of the efforts to upgrade labor productivity and lower production costs, the evaluation of which is objectively possible through the marketing of goods to the consumer, remain outside cost accounting and the incentive system. Today it is not the income from goods production and marketing that precedes shaping the wage funds and economic incentive but, conversely, it is the amount of money (based on separate rules) that is summed up and determines the volume of outlays, largely independent on the income. This being the case, the all-round increase in efficiency is not vitally needed by the enterprise. Under total cost accounting conditions the direct dependency of wage funds on the amount of marketed (actual) net output obtained on the basis of the implementation of contractual obligations becomes the main feature. This means the systematic implementation of the principle "the better you manage the greater your reward."

The bridge, sector or shop collective contract, which is an efficient means of economic incentive appears and gathers strength in reproduction intensification. In a number of cases contracting cost-accounting brigades sharply increase their labor productivity and improve work quality with virtually no additional outlays. This is the consequence of work based on a single order and distribution of earnings by the collective, based on individual labor contribution. Wage equalization is impossible in this case, as confirmed by the results of the work of contracting collectives at associations such as Kaluzhskiy Turbinnyy Zavod, Glavmospromstroy, the Second State Bearings Plant, the Tbilisi Transportation Association, and many others.

However, - so far the contracting system has been operating essentially on the brigade level. This prevents the organization of responsible and economically interested relations along the entire vertical cost accounting system and, therefore, reaching the highest level of overall social labor productivity.

In this connection, in our view it would be expedient to include the following in the new draft CPSU program: "The party deems necessary the substantial upgrading of the efficiency of cost accounting as a method for managing the activities of socialist enterprises, associations and economic organizations. The establishment of total cost accounting will take place as labor collectives will assume material responsibility to society as a whole and to their personnel for end work results. The main features in this process are the economic levers of centralized management, such as stable plan norms, state assignments for production deliveries and services, long-term and current economic contracts, and the collective order of enterprises and their subdivisions. The incentive system will be controlled by the state in such a way that it can really offer advantages to labor collectives which meet social needs more fully and efficiency and achieve great successes in the utilization of the achievements of scientific and technical progress, manage economically, and protect and increase capital and working assets granted to them for their utilization by society or else owned by them (by kolkhozes or cooperatives)."

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## COMPREHENSIVE EXPLORATION FOR MINERAL, RAW MATERIAL RESOURCES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 65-66

[Article by Candidate of Geological and Mineralogical Sciences V. Skaryatin, Moscow State University]

[Text] Thanks to the achievements of scientific and technical progress, in recent decades the real possibility appeared of studying global processes taking place in the earth's crust.

The intensiveness with which such processes are manifested may be controlled by general planetary and space processes. Cycles, the periodicity of which could be correlated with space phenomena and processes and with solar-earth links appear in the development and evolution of the earth.

In my view, the following should be added in Part IV of the draft Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR, which describes the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and scientific development, to the thesis on the "comprehensive study of the structure and evolution of the earth's crust, the biosphere, the world's oceans and the atmosphere and outer space:" "The specific forms of their interaction with each-other should be determined, with a view to developing an efficient system for environmental protection and the search for and efficient utilization of natural resources, making extensive use of means for remote probing of the earth from outer space."

The section on "The Mineral-Raw Material Base" in the Basic Directions indicates the importance of the development of aerospace means of the study of the earth's surface and ground and their utilization, in addition to geophysical and geochemical methods. Indeed, the latest methods, combined with the traditional ones enable us to select among the many essential features of the structure of the lithosphere the most important ones and to make an adequate model of its structure. According to it, the lithosphere includes areas with linear and circular structures and in frequent cases mineral deposits containing ore or energy sources, may be found at their points of intersection. Their exploration will require a set of mutually complementing research methods. I believe that the following should be added to Section V of the Basic Directions: "The more extensive, comprehensive and efficient utilization of geophysical, geochemical and aerospace methods for

the study of the earth's surface and ground, with the use of geodetic methods for the study of contemporary geodynamics." This would enhance the level of scientific substantiation of forecasts of mineral deposits, petroleum and natural gas in particular. The faster organization of speedy and inexpensive methods, such as remote control, geochemical and geodetic and some geophysical methods, used in the more purposeful utilization of expensive and lengthy types of research, would substantially upgrade survey efficiency.

The integration of academic, sectorial and VUZ science must be comprehensively supported, for VUZs have major scientific potential. Its comprehensive utilization in intersectorial research would benefit both science and the enhancement of skills of teaching cadres.

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## DESIGNING IN THE CONSTRUCTION COMPLEX

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 66-67

[Article by Professor Yu. Bocharov, director of the Central Scientific Institute of the Theory and History of Architecture]

[Text] The designer stands at the origins of everything created by mankind. Today designing is the very heart of social, scientific and technical progress. In the spirit of the draft new edition the CPSU program new accomplishments will be demanded of architects and construction workers in creating a harmonious living environment for the Soviet person in the course of building thousands of new enterprises and no less than 2 billion square meters of overall housing area over the next 15 years.

Overall planning and management of the unified architectural-construction complex will have to be ensured in order to implement the new tasks facing designing and construction. Replacing end national economic targets with intermediary ones, with all negative consequences stemming from this fact, becomes inevitable without this type of approach. One such consequence is the erroneous course of lowering the cost of designing. Instead, it should be a question of lowering the cost of reaching the planned state of urban construction. This will require choices and competitive designing and the comprehensive consideration of all long-term consequences of the implementation of a design, which is impossible if design costs are lowered.

I therefore suggest that the paragraph on construction in Section II "Party Economic Strategy," read as follows:

"The technical-economic and organizational standard of the architectural-construction complex must be substantially enhanced with a view to achieving economic intensification and accelerating scientific and technical progress. Design and construction must become a single industrial process. Design efficiency must be enhanced and building costs lowered; the time for the completion of projects and reaching planned capacity must be shortened."

The prestige of the project, as a governmental and a creative document which must be mandatorily implemented with precision in the course of the construction process, must be enhanced legislatively. Bearing in mind that our country has 1,600 state design-research organizations, it would be expedient to apply more energetically a design system based on the combination

of centralized development of overall standardized parts of the architectural-construction subsystem with the utilization of the creative potential of local design organizations in the creation of local design series.

In speaking of the organization of the construction complex we should note that the implementation of architectural-construction urban plans materializes the activities of all areas of production, science, culture and art. The unity and interconnection between the material and spiritual standards of social development are manifested most extensively in architecture. In the mid-1950s, however, a one-sided interpretation became popular, which linked architecture primarily to construction. This was organizationally codified with its departmental affiliation with the USSR Gosstroy, which was created at that time, as one of the numerous departments in the construction sector.

The organizational subordination of architecture to construction had many negative consequences: attention was concentrated on new construction on free land, which resulted in the excessive takeover of farmland, the primary development of the passive share of capital assets and underestimating the role of comprehensive urban construction and the reconstruction of production facilities and their technical retooling. The need for mandatorily coordinating design with the contractor and planning the output of house-building enterprises on the basis of gross output led to preserving the old technical standards in the construction industry and to the primary use of material- and energy-intensive structures and items.

Today industrial housing construction in the country is dispersed and carried out by contracting organizations working under more than 45 ministries and councils of ministers of union republics, which manage 540 house-building combines. The largest amount of contracting work was done by the USSR Ministry of Construction of Heavy Industry Enterprises, USSR Ministry of Industrial Construction, USSR Ministry of Construction, USSR Ministry of Rural Construction and USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification and the Ministries of Construction in the East and of Petroleum and Gas Construction, which accounted for about 70 percent of overall housing construction.

The dispersal of huge capital investments for housing and civilian construction among a large number of departments within a single sector worsens resource utilization, makes implementation of a unified technical policy extremely difficult, lowers the quality of industrialization and standardization in housing construction and adversely affects the architecture of urban and rural construction. It would be expedient, therefore, to raise the question of concentrating housing-civilian construction and creating a union-republic body in charge of architecture and urban and civil construction, which would manage design organizations engaged in housing-civil and urban construction and some the house building enterprises. I therefore suggest that the following be added to the sentence "enhance capital

construction to a qualitatively new level:" "ensure the planning, financing, management and implementation of unified technical policy in housing-civil construction" in Section II of the "Basic Directions and Tasks in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in the Period Until the Year 2000."

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## ON WASTELESS PRODUCTION

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) p 67

[Article by Yu. Ryurikov, writer and sociologist]

[Text] For quite some time the press has been discussing the question of the need to convert the industrial base to wasteless production. This is not only a technical and ecological problem but a socioeconomic one as well.

Indeed, the conversion itself includes concern for future generations and the future of mankind under the conditions of a communist system and consistent with its nature. This is the precise opposite of the traditional "waste-generating" technology which clearly involves the waste of huge amounts of ecological resources for the sake of temporary advantages at the cost of inevitably increasing losses to society in the future.

That is why the concept of wastelessness should, in our view, mandatorily become part of the programmatic characterization of the material and technical foundations for communism and the corresponding characterization of the technical parameters of the qualitatively new status of Soviet society, which is the main objective of the country's accelerated socioeconomic development.

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## LEISURE TIME UNDER SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 67-68

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences T. Yudina]

[Text] I am deeply satisfied with the draft new edition of the CPSU program. However I suggest that the scientific description of the higher phase of the communist system included in Section I, Part 2, provide a more specific description of the concept of the leisure time of the associated working people.

Under full communism, K. Marx emphasized, "the measure of wealth will not in the least be the working time but leisure time" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 46, part II, p 217). As our political and economic publications have repeatedly noted, the effect of the basic economic law of the communist production method, based on production forces consistent with the latter (i.e., with a full material and technical foundations for communism) must ensure not only the full satisfaction of sensible individual needs and not only drastically reduce working time and enhance the content of labor in direct socialized production but also convert leisure time from a time for simple rest and passive consumption of material and cultural goods into a "space" for active creative scientific, technical, artistic and other activities, in the course of which the physical and spiritual needs of all members of the association of the whole nation will be truly developed.

Such conversion is one of the basic targets of building communism and one of its absolutely necessary means and a most important trend in energizing the human factor in the acceleration of our socioeconomic development. The practice of socialism again and again confirms the accuracy of Marx's formula, according to which the leisure time, as a time for the "full development of the individual" will "in turn, as the greatest production force, have an inverse effect on the productive power of labor," for "leisure time, which means both recreation and time for more enhanced activities, naturally transforms the person, who acts as a different subject in the direct production process" (ibid., p 221). Rationalizing the use of the leisure time of the working people is an organic component of the party's social policy.

The following, therefore, seems expedient:

1. To add the following to the criterion of the material and technical base of communism as formulated in Section I, Part 2, of the draft: "The material and technical base of communism presumes the creation of the type of production forces which will not only provide opportunities for the full satisfaction of the sensible needs of society and the individual but will also convert working and leisure time into a realm of direct manifestation and growth of physical and spiritual forces and capabilities of every member of the association of working people;"

2. In Section III of Part 2 of the draft, concretize the concept of the "meaningful" and "sensible" utilization of leisure time by stipulating that such a utilization presumes "the all-round development of the person and his capability for active creative nonprofessional occupations."

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## UPGRADING PUBLIC CATERING STANDARDS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 68-69

[Article by Candidate of Technical Sciences V. Mikhaylov, senior teacher, Chair of Organization of Design and Automation of Public Catering Enterprises, Moscow Institute of the National Economy imeni G.V. Plekhanov]

[Text] In recent years scientific achievements have contributed to shaping broad concepts concerning nutrition and rational recommendations based on geographic location, climate, physiological standards, etc. On the basis of solid scientific opinion, the public catering system must prepare food which is tastier, less costly and more varied than if cooked at home, and create the most favorable conditions for providing mass services to citizens at their enterprises. Proper nutrition, scientifically based on the specific nature of professional activities, contributes to upgrading the labor productivity of workers and employees, lowering sickness and strengthening the health of all population strata. What frequently happens, however, is that what is profitable to the public catering system is harmful to both the health and the pocketbook of the mass consumer. This conflicts with the principles of our society and with the political concepts of the CPSU.

Obviously, nowhere else is science so ignored as in this area. The extreme attraction of general food catering enterprises for commercial criteria leads to ignoring scientific recommendations and, in the final account the interests of the population. The result is monotonous menus, substandard quality meals and unjustified food costs (increased as a result of inflated personnel size, unnecessary overhead, and low labor mechanization standards).

Scientists have developed hundreds of recipes for food items and semi-finished meals very useful to the body. However, they do not reach public catering, which has been dominated for many years by a simplified standardized package of chops and stewed fruit. Ignoring the critical statement by specialists, the deep-frying method is extensively used in cooking technology, in the course of which about 10 percent of the fat is burned up and substances poisonous to the body are accumulated.

Hundreds of inventors and rationalizers in the country have suggested new economic and efficient means of processing food products. However, they are ignored by the Public Catering Administration of the USSR Ministry of Trade.

In the light of this fact, as a specialist with nearly 30 years experience in practical, scientific and teaching work in the organization of public catering, I consider that the Draft Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000, include the following in the section on improving the well-being of the people: "Develop a public catering system based on the latest achievements of nutritional science with the maximal utilization of wasteless or low-waste food-processing technologies, extensively involving in this project scientific specialists in this field and medical personnel. Ensuring for the population scientific nutrition based on type of labor activity, climate, season, local raw materials and customs and traditions. Combine the scientific rationalization of nutrition with the solution of the USSR Food Program."

In my view, it would be expedient to organize within the system of the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee, a "Healthy Nutrition" Scientific-Production Association, in which medical workers and public catering and food industry specialists will concentrate their efforts. Its task would include the development of progressive wasteless or low-waste technologies and new types of foods, semi-finished meals and cookery products.

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## FOUNDATION FOR IMPROVING HEALTH

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) p 69

[Article by N. Morozov, Great Patriotic War veteran, CPSU member since 1945]

[Text] The universal outpatient treatment of the population, as earmarked in the draft new edition of the CPSU program, clearly proves the concern shown by the party and the government for the Soviet person. Its end results will depend on the accuracy of the methods chosen for the elimination of diseases identified in the course of the examinations.

I deem it expedient to present the basic part of the thesis on health care in the first subsection of Section III "Party Social Policy" of the draft new edition of the CPSU program, as follows:

"Strengthening the health of the Soviet people and increasing the span of their active life is a matter of prime importance.

"The party considers as the foundation for solving this problem disease prevention through a healthy way of life, including physical culture, which must be extensively practiced in daily life and become the norm, the organic need of every person. Instruction must be given in basic physiology, hygiene and medical aid and be concerned from a youthful age with their physical advancement and harmonious development. The efforts of agencies engaged in mass sports work, the medical establishment and the public organizations and the press must be rallied in achieving this common objective.

"Soviet medicine must be raised to a qualitatively new standard of population services, oriented toward end results: reducing morbidity and shortening the time of treatment as well as increasing the span of active life. We must achieve a transition to superior diagnostic and treatment methods on the basis of the achievements of science, the use of the experience of folk medicine and a more profound knowledge of natural factors.

"The comprehensive improvement of human health must become a basic tenet in Soviet health care," and so on. The words "and proper medical nutrition for hospitalized patients" should follow the words "procurement of medicinal, treatment and sanitary-hygienic means."

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## STRENGTHENING THE LEGAL FOUNDATIONS OF OUR LIFE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 69-70

[Article by Dr of Juridical Sciences, Professor I. Karpets, laureate of the USSR State Prize, honored worker in science of the RSFSR]

[Text] I would like to express some view on a number of problems related to the discussion of the draft new edition of the CPSU Program, a document of the greatest possible significance to the fate of our state and society.

Let us note, above all, the realism of the new edition of the program. It is always very important when a document, which determines the development of socialist society and the state and offers long-range projections, on the one hand, and, on the other, is a document covering a specific time span, to contain stipulations based on the realities of the period and to reflect the ways of improvement of production forces and productions relations. This specifically applies to the correlation within the project of the communist future development of statehood and the political system of Soviet society, including the development of its legal foundations, and the tasks of perfecting socialist social relations and the development of the economy on the basis of scientific and technical progress, formulated by the party today.

In this respect the new draft is distinct from the previous one in formulating problems of the role of law and legality in social life, the rights and obligations of Soviet people, the guarantees of such rights and the struggle against delinquency and crime.

Unquestionably, the draft properly mentions strengthening the legal foundations of state and public life, for underestimating the role of the law is inadmissible. Strengthening legality in all realms of life in socialist society is a principle-minded position. Strengthening the legal foundations presumes work on perfecting Soviet legislation and its practical application.

Our society and the party, who are tirelessly concerned with strengthening the legal foundations, have found the most efficient means to this effect, inherent exclusively in socialism: participation of the public and the working people in all activities aimed at strengthening law and order. Clearly, this should be mentioned in the program as well.

I believe that the following stipulation must be refined: "...improving the work of people's courts and other justice-dispensing bodies." One should simply speak of improving the work of the courts, for the courts are the only bodies which dispense justice.

The militia is named among the bodies the work of which must be improved. Naturally, this is true. The militia, however, is one of the components of the system of internal affairs organs which, as a whole, work to secure law and order and fight crime. This system should be included in the draft.

Perhaps the task of the prosecutor's office, a body which, in accordance with the USSR Constitution, is in charge of supreme supervision over the implementation of the laws by all state bodies, public organizations and citizens, could be formulated more clearly.

In our view, the stipulation of "eliminating the causes" of delinquencies should be refined as well. Eliminating the reasons and conditions for delinquencies and crimes is the task of all institutions, establishments and public organizations. The militia, for example, cannot "eliminate the reasons" for shortcomings in organizing planning in an economic sector.

Mention should also be made of the obligations of all economic and other managers, public organizations and citizens to take the necessary steps in accordance with representations made by law enforcement bodies on eliminating the causes of crimes and delinquencies and contributory conditions, for it is precisely here that the universal interest in eliminating crime as a negative social phenomenon must find its manifestation.

In this connection, I suggest the following clarification in the given section of the new draft of the CPSU Program: "Strengthening the legal foundations of state and social life, perfecting legislation and its implementation, steady observance of legality in all realms of economic and social relations, strengthening law and order, involving the broad toiling masses in this work, improving the activities of courts, internal affairs organs, and justice and upgrading the role of the prosecutor's supervision over the observation of legality by all state bodies, establishments, public organizations and citizens, have been and remain a matter of constant party concern.

"The law-enforcement bodies must do everything necessary to ensure the inviolability of socialist property and the protection of the personal property, life, honor and dignity of the citizens, wage a decisive struggle against crime, prevent all possible delinquencies and take the legally stipulated steps which will contribute to the elimination of the reasons for crime and other delinquencies and contributory conditions.

"The state authorities, managers of economic organizations, enterprises, establishments and public organizations and all citizens must take steps to prevent crime, other delinquencies and any violations of socialist legality."

In our view, such changes and supplements would reflect more fully (and, in some cases more accurately) the concept of strengthening the legal foundations of state and social life, legality and law and order.

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## PROPER ATTENTION TO PRESS CRITICISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) p 71

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Zaruda, KIIVSKA PRAVDA editor]

[Text] It is common knowledge that the party documents rate criticism and self-criticism are a major motive force in our society. The USSR Constitution grants the working people through press publications and the television and radio the right to participate in the administration of governmental and social affairs. We believe that the time has come to determine the extent of responsibility of anyone criticized in the press. One must not simply react to but be responsible for the mandatory correction of exposed shortcomings.

The overwhelming majority of managers properly understand critical materials printed in the press and use them skillfully in organizing their work. However, other attitudes exist as well. Grudges are held against the authors of such articles and efforts are made to slight them. Should even the slightest inaccuracy be committed, demands for punishment and for dismissal of the correspondent are made and the newspaper is accused of prejudice and the aspiration to "wreck everything."

A rayon accountability and election party conference was held recently and a report on it was carried by our newspaper. Not even a day later the editors' telephone rang. The executive committee chairman, a willful and firm woman, angrily demanded an explanation as to why two critical paragraphs had been published about that agency of the Soviet system in the city. The author of the report was accused of subjectivism, for in the previous quarter the city had won the winner's banner in the socialist competition. Vainly we explained that criticism of specific matters had been voiced at the party conference and that the correspondent had the right to print it. We had to be informed about the notorious "prejudice" and even the "personal hostility" of the author.

The reader has the right to expect an answer to the essence of the questions raised in any critical article published in the press. Nevertheless, frequently extensive explanations concerning "objective" reasons for shortcomings show up in the "The Newspaper Wrote and What Was Done?" section. We also frequently come across the view that after an article has been published in the local press the superior organizations consider the matter

closed after notifying the editors of the steps taken by the subordinate production collective. But what if the criticism goes far beyond the primary production unit? The superior organization pretends not to notice critical remarks addressed to it.

In connection with such cases we would like to make the following suggestion.

The first subsection of Section V, Part 2 of the draft new edition of the program should be formulated as follows: "The role of the mass information and propaganda media is intensified in social life. The CPSU calls for seeing to it that they provide a profound analysis of domestic and international life and economic and social phenomena, actively supporting everything that is new and progressive, raising problems which are topical and relevant to the people and suggesting ways of resolving them. The press, television and radio must convince the people of the political clarity, purposefulness and depth of the content, and the efficiency, saturation with information, clarity and accessibility of materials; they must shape public opinion and contribute to the mobilization of the working people for active participation in socioeconomic and cultural construction. The party will continue to develop publicity and give the press and all mass information and propaganda media active support and aid and demand of every party member mandatory answers to criticism."

We suggest the following text for Point 26 of the CPSU Statutes: "The free and businesslike discussion of problems of party policy by individual party organizations or the party as a whole is the inalienable right of the party member and an important principle of intraparty democracy. It is only on the basis of intraparty democracy that the high creative activeness of the party members, open criticism and self-criticism and firm party discipline, which should be conscious rather than automatic, can be ensured. The party members and managers of all ranks have the important obligation of answering criticism from any rostrum and in the press."

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## HIGHER SCHOOL ON THE EVE OF CHANGE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) p 72

[Article by Professor K. Markvardt, MIIT]

[Text] It seems to me that it would be useful to add in Section X of the Basic Directions, the following after the paragraph on "Use of Efficient and Specific Training Methods in Training Specialists With Higher and Secondary Specialized Education:" "The main task of higher and secondary specialized education should be the shaping of a creative personality with an active civic stance, manifested in the clear understanding of the current tasks of building communism and readiness and ability to carry them out in professional activities."

Two approaches to VUZ student training are known: the "information" approach, according to which the main thing is to inform and order the student to remember the information as stipulated in the curriculum; and the "developing" approach, which essentially consists of placing the student under conditions which would create an inner need to acquire certain knowledge and the life-long aspiration to acquire it by all accessible means; in this case the task of the educator is the purposeful guidance of independently developing cognitive activity.

These two approaches are radically different both as work methods as well as in terms of the material chosen for study and, naturally, in terms of end results--the level and quality of training. Naturally, each real training system includes elements of both. Neither can exist in pure form. But let us note that the former does not even consider the question of developing the need for knowledge. It relies on plan, discipline and willpower and the passive absorption of "prechewed" material. The latter is based on the independent activities of the subject and on awakening within him the elements of creativity and developing a taste for surmounting obstacles and working toward the expected result. In this case all positive aspects of the young mentality are harnessed, including willpower, which provides the best possible conditions for acquiring the knowledge needed to reach the set target. Such type of training and cognitive activities in the collective contributes to the shaping and consolidation of socially important features in every student.



Unfortunately, the existing training system relies on a different (i.e., on the former) approach. It not only develops cognitive activeness poorly, but frequently, conversely, suppresses it, occasionally even developing a stable rejection of "spiritual food." The information approach presumes merely a passive-reproductive and repetitive activity.

This approach, which is a duplication of the scholastic principles, is inconsistent with the age group of the students who are potentially ready for responsible and independent work. The growth of the creative possibilities of student youth will be the more successful the more their training is structured on the principles of the developing system. This principle should be organized with accordance with the laws of knowledge. It would be useful, therefore, to include after the suggested addition that "the training system must be based on dialectical-materialistic methodology."

Currently, in assessing the activities of student (and teachers), test grades are of decisive significance. In the final account, they determine the extent to which the material has been memorized at the time of the examination. Knowledge before and after the examination is ignored. As a rule, the dynamics of the development of the student and the rhythm and pace of his development are not considered, not to mention the level of cognitive activities and readiness for independent creative work, i.e., precisely that which truly predetermines the quality of a specialist. Worse, the universally accepted grading method is directly harmful, for it encourages cramming sessions during the period of examinations rather than rhythmical cognitive work, leading the student to develop qualities that are needed only passing the test but useless in further activities. That is why, after the supplement we suggested it would be useful to add the following: "The system for controlling and rating the quality of specialist training must be radically improved. The knowledge of the specialist is not the target but only a means of resolving problems which arise in a production situation. The main rating criterion should be the creative activeness of the graduate at his assignment. A feedback mechanism must be developed linking the users of cadres with those responsible for their training."

Radical improvements in training specialists with higher education is a major and very difficult problem. Its solution will require the collective formulation of an optimal restructuring plan, which will include the practice of competition in teaching, aimed at high quality student training.

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## VALUABLE PROPERTY OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) p 73

[Article by Academician A. Narochitskiy]

[Text] The section in the draft new edition of the CPSU program on ideological education, training, science and culture is of tremendous guiding significance. In particular, it earmarks important tasks for the social scientist, and not only philosophy, political economy, scientific communism and CPSU history taught in all VUZs.

As a scientist and party member, who has dedicated much effort to the study and teaching of history, I would like to draw attention to the fact that knowledge of the general laws of the historical process is inseparable from the profound and precise study of facts. Furthermore, the conversion of history into abstract sociological systems deprives it to a tremendous extent of its educational significance and emotional influence. In my view, the study not only of general laws but of specific facts which, naturally, are interpreted theoretically, is of tremendous independent ideological-political and moral significance, particularly if it is a question of the progressive labor and revolutionary traditions of the people, and their combat exploits in the national liberation struggle and in defense of their homeland against aggression. For example, it is important to study the revolutionary strikes and uprisings, the Great October Revolution, the exploits of Nikolay Gastello, Zoya Kosmodemyanskaya, the Panfilov Heroes and other Soviet people during the Great Patriotic War and the battle of Stalingrad not only in order to learn the general laws. Such actions are of tremendous importance to us because of their specific features. Such traditions are a valuable property of the people and a source of inspiration in the struggle.

Therefore, I deem it desirable that the following be added to the section on ideological education in the draft: "The CPSU will work to intensify and broaden the education of the Soviet people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and proletarian socialist internationalism in accordance with the task of perfecting socialist society and the progressive revolutionary, national liberation, labor and cultural traditions of the Soviet people, and deems it necessary to identify the sources and the course of unification of all socialist nations and nationalities within the society and to enhance the educational significance of the social sciences, including the study of

history and literature." This could be added after the words "patriotic and international education" on page 63 of the draft new edition of the CPSU program (Politizdat, Moscow, 1985). This addition will not duplicate the text in the draft new edition of the CPSU program.

Our country has hundreds of thousands of teachers of history, social science and history of literature. Almost all of them are party members, as are tens of thousands of historians in higher schools and scientific research institutes. Their lives and activities are dedicated to scientific ideological work and the struggle for the party's cause. The suggested addition to the draft would make them even more clearly aware of their direct participation in the great program for perfecting socialist society and progress toward communism. It would stimulate training in Soviet patriotism and proletarian and socialist internationalism and the further unification of the Soviet people. This addition would also provide an incentive and a direction for a great deal of further scientific studies and would contribute to the all-round study of present and past development of our homeland and world history.

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## AESTHETIC ASPECT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET SOCIETY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 73-74

[Article by N. Volkova, junior teacher of philosophy, MAI imeni S. Ordzhonikidze; V. Zlotnikov, candidate of philosophical sciences, docent, Philosophy Faculty, MGPI imeni V.I. Lenin; and Dr of Philosophical Sciences L. Yuldashev, professor MVPSh]

[Text] In our view, it would be expedient to add to the draft new edition of the program, Third Paragraph, First Section, Part 2, a stipulation on the development of production with the utilization of the achievements of artistic design, which is an inseparable part of scientific and technical progress and is aimed at organically combining usefulness with beauty in produced goods.

The draft states that "stricter requirements will be formulated toward architecture and the aesthetic shaping and landscaping of urban and rural settlements." The following should be added to this: "Aesthetic principles will obey the organization of the entire surroundings of the life and activities of the Soviet people (industrial and residential areas, industrial, trade and cultural-consumer service enterprises, all establishments, residential homes and transportation)."

It would be desirable to add to the concept of the harmonious interaction between society and nature and between man and his surrounding a stipulation concerning the aesthetic attitude of man toward nature.

In addition to the political, legal, economic, ecological and other trends, aesthetic upbringing is an inseparable part of communist upbringing. For this reason we suggest that the following be added after Subsection 1, Section V, Part 2 "In the Area of Ideological Education," after the stipulation on atheistic upbringing: "Aesthetic Upbringing. The party will be comprehensively concerned with the aesthetic education of the working people, the growing generations in particular, and the development of the need to create in accordance with the laws of beauty, aesthetically to perceive and evaluate man, his work and output, works of art and natural phenomena."

We consider it expedient that in Section V the part "In the Area of Culture" be set as a separate subsection. This would be consistent with the all-round consideration of problems of culture in the draft. We suggest the following

text for the first paragraph: "The creation of a truly people's multinational Soviet socialist culture is the historical accomplishment of our system. The material, sociopolitical and spiritual values which are the product of this culture have earned international recognition."

Having this as a separate subsection presumes another separate section entitled "In the Field of Art" (excluding literature, for it is one of the types of art). Such a separation is expedient, for art is a most important instrument not only for the aesthetic but also the political, moral and all other trends of communist upbringing. It is its universal means.

The transition to the subsection on art could be the already included stipulation (with refinement) according to which "as the cultural standard of the people increases, so does the influence of art on all aspects of social life: labor, way of life, behavior, social consciousness and moral and psychological atmosphere."

In accordance with these remarks, a specification should be inserted in the subsection on art: "The party will comprehensively contribute to enhancing the role of art in all its varieties, literature and motion pictures in particular, in the communist upbringing of the working people." We deem it important to insert in this subsection a mention on asserting the aesthetic ideal of man's beauty and nobility and to emphasize that "in the struggle against manifestations of lack of ideas, conceptual lack of clarity, hack work, etc., the party will rely on Marxist-Leninist aesthetics as the theoretical foundation of policy in the development of Soviet art and of all aspects of social life and activities which require aesthetic criteria. Art studies and artistic criticism must serve the same objectives."

Finally, the following addition should be inserted in Section V: "Folk art is an organic part of the material and spiritual culture of socialist society. Closely linked with the positive social traditions and preserved continuity of historical experience and professionalism, it expresses the aesthetic attitude of the Soviet person toward reality, answering his need to create a world "also according to the laws of beauty" (K. Marx), thus performing an important social function. Aesthetic creativity is fruitful only when it is based on folk culture rather than reduced to amateur art, characterized by dilettantism."

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## TASKS IN BUILDING CULTURE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 74-75

[Article by Dr of Fine Arts, Professor V. Polevoy, USSR State Prize laureate]

[Text] In discussing the draft new edition of the CPSU program, I would like to make a few suggestions about the part on problems of culture, artistic creativity in particular. I believe that particular attention should be paid to the exceptionally important task of upgrading the role of socialist culture and art in the ideological-political, moral, legal, artistic and aesthetic upbringing of the Soviet people and in shaping their communist outlook, formulated in Section X of the draft Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR. Would it not be expedient for such views to be included also in the new draft of the CPSU program?

It would be worth to include in the first subsection of the program, Section V, Part 2, which especially deals with problems of ideological education, a separate paragraph on the work of the party in aesthetic upbringing. We could insert here the part from the fourth subsection which discusses literature and art. It would be suitable to put this text before the paragraph on aesthetic education. Correspondingly, it would be important, in the preamble to Section V, Part 2 of the draft, to list aesthetic education alongside the ideological-political, labor and moral upbringing of the Soviet people.

Finally, here are some editorial remarks which, I believe, would refine basically important concepts.

Thus, in the fifth paragraph of the fourth subsection, the main line of development of literature and art is related to the highly artistic depiction of socialist reality alone, whereas the creative thinking of our masters of culture goes also to the past and encompasses the entire contemporary world. It would be preferable, therefore, to formulate the text as follows: "The main line in the development of literature and art is strengthening ties with the life of the people, the truthful and highly artistic depiction of life in its leading trends and contradictions, and the inspired and vivid description of what is new and progressive in socialist reality and the passionate exposure of anything which hinders the advancement of society."

The creative method in our literature and art is not subject to regulating forms, styles and genres, which cannot be reduced merely to a single type of artistic work. Is it necessary to give preference to a single one out of a variety of forms? It would be more expedient to present the corresponding text in the draft program as follows: "Workers in literature and the arts have a broad scope for truly free creativity and for upgrading their skill and the further development of the variety of forms, styles and genres on the basis of the method of socialist realism."

In the seventh paragraph of the fourth subsection the role of the creative unions, public opinion and artistic criticism is noted in the draft only in connection with the struggle against negative phenomena, whereas part of their tasks is to assert positive principles. I suggest that this paragraph be somewhat redrafted as follows: "In its cultural policy the party relies on the creative unions, public opinion and Marxist-Leninist literary and artistic criticism. The CPSU has a protective and respectful attitude toward talent and artistic searches. At the same time it has always struggled and will struggle against manifestations of lack of ideas and conceptual omnivorousness, aesthetic dullness and amateurism."

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## AGAINST DULLNESS AND OPPORTUNISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 75-77

[Article by Sergey Baruzdin]

[Text] The precongress documents are imbued with concern for the Soviet person, the master of his country and destiny. "The CPSU ascribes great importance to the fuller and deeper mastery by the toiling masses of the wealth of spiritual and material culture, and to their active involvement in artistic creativity," we read in the draft new edition of the party program.

We also read the following:

"The party will comprehensively contribute to the enhancement of the role of literature and art."

Let us give our literature its due. We could name dozens of works of the 1920s and 1930s, which not only talentedly reflected socialist reality but also daringly looked into the future, creating characters worthy of emulation and identifying all obstacles to progress. An entire generation of people of the new system--workers, soldiers and defenders of our gains--were raised on the books of that period.

The Great Patriotic War gave birth to a truly great literature on the difficult and heroic years of 1941-1945. A thick reference volume would be the result of any effort to recall and simply to list all writers and works related to the last war, both those written during and after it.

An entire galaxy of outstanding writers appeared during the difficult postwar times in all of our multilinguistic literatures. Their books on ancient and modern history, on the Patriotic War and our time, on moral problems, on town and country and on scientists and the working class excite us to this day.

The new Soviet generations must not lose the priceless gifts of the older ones. However, we must admit that even in literary circles occasionally we come across a scornful attitude toward past achievements. Alas, our publishing practice is sometimes such that today's young reader is not always able to find the books of V. Ovechkin, V. Azhayev, V. Latsis, B. Kerbabayev, V. Korchetov, G. Nikolayeva, Yu. Smul, M. Svetlov and many others.



The pregress documents are imbued with the spirit of continuity in the Leninist meaning of the term, as continuing progress and identification and solution of new problems and eliminating anything which hinders development. The April and October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenums boldly and frankly mentioned unresolved problems in our society, omissions and areas in which we must catch up.

The pregress documents make me think of our present-day literature.

Yes, many quite sharp contemporary books have been written in our country about the countryside, scientists and party workers. These are important books from the viewpoint of the new morality and mentality. They are good books. Let us also mention books written in the historical-revolutionary genre and works on the past war. They are innumerable, ranging from Russian to Kazakh, Estonian to Georgian and Yakut to Komi literatures. In recent years the political novel and even the political mystery has appeared in our country (I do not invest an ironic meaning in this concept, for the political mystery novel is also important today).

However, could we describe with full justification many of the works as contemporary, without limiting this concept merely to the background "the signs of the time?"

Contemporaneity is a view of the future. However, has our literature (other than plays) looked at the problems discussed at the April and October Central Committee Plenums, problems the solution of which determines the progress of Soviet society?

I ask such questions above all as a writer but I also address them to my literary colleagues and critics who sometimes operate on the basis of the principle of not insulting anyone. For the sake of fairness let me say that we have talented critics who, however, are timid when it comes to interfering in the current literary process, who are more willing to analyze what is positive rather than criticize what is negative, and who sometimes seem totally to ignore the flood of mediocre literary works. Yet the party demands of everyone enhanced responsibility for his work sector and uncompromising exigency toward oneself and one's comrades.

I think that I am correct in saying that we are publishing today more books, both in terms of titles and authors, than is necessary. Meanwhile good works are in short supply, even for children and even for school libraries. Therefore, would it not be worth it to increase editions of good books and limit the publication of average or frankly poor works?

Today the party talks to us about the need for a psychological retuning. Let us think: to what extent has the process of such restructuring affected us, writers, the engineers of the human soul? Let me cite one example:

Our critics have become accustomed, as is entirely proper, to support the literatures of fraternal republics. Their first steps and the first shoots of national cultures demanded particular attention. Today, however, these literatures have reached real maturity. Many of their works have become part

of the treasury of world culture. The truth is that for quite some time they have not required any concessions to their youth. Traditionally, however, this is continuing and some poor, ordinary, second-rate works are given a positive rating. This is useless and can cause nothing but harm.

In its pregress documents the party teaches us to look soberly at real life, to achievements and shortcomings, and not to be afraid of acknowledging our errors, faults and omissions. Are these concepts not applicable to the development of our powerful unique multinational Soviet literature? We must not and do not reject real accomplishments, which are truly great. However, should we ignore obvious shortcomings and omissions or worse, opportunism? This has never led to progress....

The beneficial spirit of the time, inherent in the present, must not ignore literary affairs. Timidity, reinsurance and reciprocal forgiveness are quite frequently encountered in writing circles as well. That is why today the question of the psychological restructuring of the creators of spiritual values themselves is so exceptionally crucial.

I shall not list the names of the outstanding Soviet writers whose works are living confirmations of the active interference of literature in life. Their names are universally known. However, as a whole, our literature continues to owe something to the readers and no flood of mass produced boring output can compensate for this lag.

The draft new editions of the CPSU program and the Basic Directions make special mention of upgrading the cultural standards of the people. These concepts demand the closest possible attention of Soviet writers. An entire set of problems of patriotic and internationalist upbringing and the role of our people in the life of the entire socialist community, the liberation struggle of the peoples for independence and for independent development and the struggle for peace and social justice and, finally, our relations with the progressive forces on the planet, who are opposing the threat of new wars and nuclear upheavals, are also direct social and political tasks of literature and the arts.

The Soviet people are worthy of the highest quality artistic values. They have the right to expect of us a really great literature, consistent with our great time. I am convinced that the wind of beneficial change will reach the writers as well.

Let me conclude with suggestions on the draft CPSU statutes (with suggested amendments). They stipulate that party organizations with under 15 CPSU members can decide for themselves whether to use the open or secret vote in electing their leading party body, the party buro. Based on almost 40-year experience as party member, I suggest that this quota be raised. In my view, any party organization which chooses a buro could independently decide how to elect its leading body, through open or closed (secret) vote. In my view, this is consistent with democratic centralism, on the principles of which the party organizations structure their work and which develops greater honesty and frankness in the party members themselves.

Here is another consideration: the statutes should clearly stipulate that if at a party group meeting in any public organization a list of candidates for the leading body of that organization is submitted at the general meeting, every party member must vote for such a list. Basic party ethics and discipline exclude duplicity.

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IN THE NAME OF PEACE AND THE GOOD OF MANKIND

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 77-78

[Article by Academician S. Tikhvinskiy]

[Text] The draft new edition of the party program has significantly enriched the theory of socialist foreign policy, encompassing the comprehensive international experience of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries, acquired over the past 25 years. This applies, above all, to the all-round strengthening of the friendship and the development and advancement of relations within the socialist community, which is a subject of particular CPSU concern.

In this connection, it would be expedient, in our view, to note in the document that "the principle of socialist internationalism, which is the highest level of development of proletarian internationalism in relations among socialist countries, is the foundation of socialist international relations." This principle is not mentioned at all in Section II, Part 1 of the draft, where relations of a new type are discussed; Section I, Part 3, discusses "principles" of socialist internationalism without, however, mentioning anything regarding their content. Considering that the principle of socialist internationalism is of great international significance, it should be properly included in the new draft of the program, pointing out that it includes both class solidarity, friendship, cooperation and mutual aid in resolving problems of building and defending the new society as well as the acknowledgment of the equality and the strengthening of the independence and sovereignty of each socialist state.

Terminological accuracy must be observed. We should not speak at one point of "principle" and elsewhere about "principles." For the inevitable question which arises is the following: are relations among socialist countries based on a single principle or does socialist internationalism include a number of principles?

The principle of proletarian internationalism is not mentioned in the draft new edition of the program which discusses our country's international activities. Nevertheless, it is this principle which determines the general trend of socialist foreign policy, which is a major instrument in the extensive support of the struggle waged by the peoples for peace and social

progress. Based on this principle are features of our foreign policy, such as national orientation, publicity and democracy. They should be codified in the new draft of the program.

The successes achieved in the systematic and comprehensive perfecting of socialism in the USSR are the material foundation, the source of strength of the Leninist policy of the CPSU in the international arena. Therefore, I suggest that the following be added to the preamble to Part 3, after the first paragraph: "The real achievements of the Soviet people on the path of building communism in the economic, social, political, cultural and other areas is the base for the effective foreign policy of the CPSU."

In discussing the organization of relations with capitalist countries, including cultural exchanges, the draft stipulates that such exchanges must serve humane objectives: the spiritual enrichment of the peoples and "the strengthening of peace and good neighborly relations." However, it would be expedient to replace the term "good neighborly relations" with the words "international relations." This is a broader concept which applies to the development of relations not with neighboring countries alone.

The draft new edition of the program emphasizes the significance of the struggle for normal and stable relations with the United States. Its stipulates that objective prerequisites exist for the organization of such relations, and the equitable standards on which relations between the USSR and the United States should be structured are presented. However, a substantial addition should be made here by mentioning not simply the principle of "identical security" but "the principle of equality and identical security." This principle is mentioned in connection with relations with the capitalist countries in general, whereas in accordance with established Soviet diplomatic practice, in this case we are guided by the principle of causing no harm to the security of the sides.

Today Soviet foreign policy and diplomacy face the highest possible responsibility: the implementation of the radical socioeconomic problems which the CPSU sets to the Soviet people, brimming with an awareness of its responsibility for the fate of the peoples and inflexible faith in the triumph of its humane historical mission, for the sake of the peace and good of mankind, largely depends on the outcome of the struggle for improving the international situation, strengthening the power of the socialist community and improving its relations with the capitalist countries.

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## PROGRAM OF THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 78-79

[Article by T. Kondratkov, head of the Department of Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Moscow Textile Institute imeni A.N. Kosygin]

[Text] The basic features of the draft new edition of the CPSU program are inflexible faith in the triumph of the ideals of communism, tireless aspiration toward construction, profound social optimism and a sober, comprehensive and scientific assessment of the situation in the world. These features become exceptionally apparent in the study of the most crucial problem which mankind faces today--the problem of war and peace.

Aggressive imperialist policy, the draft stipulates, is countered by the growing potential of the forces of peace. They include the active and systematically peaceful policy of the socialist states and their growing economic and defense power; a policy followed by the overwhelming majority of Asian, African and Latin American countries, vitally interested in the preservation of peace and a halt to the arms race; and the antiwar movements of the broadest possible popular masses in all continents, movements which have become a long-term influential factor of social life. The confrontation between the forces of peace and war is reflected in all basic areas of social reality--political, ideological, economic and military.

Under the conditions of the sharp aggravation of the ideological and political struggle on problems of peace, the scientific, dialectical-materialistic and class-oriented analysis of the nature of this phenomenon and the positive and moral and legal assessment of it as the greatest social value, more important than anything else on earth today, assumes particular importance. Such an assessment enhances the moral responsibility of the peace fighters, leading them in the struggle against the threat of nuclear destruction, multiplying their energy and instilling in them confidence in the preservation and consolidation of peace.

This type of analysis of the problems is necessary also because bourgeois ideologues and political and military personalities are clearly distorting the nature of peace, imposing upon the masses its militaristic model, the so-called nuclear peace, and distorting the Marxist-Leninist understanding of peace and the means of preserving it. At the same time, numerous utopian

peace projects are being promoted by Western sociologists and political experts. Frequently, such projects are also anticommunist.

Bearing this in mind, in our view, the new draft CPSU program should provide a description of the peace for which our parties and states are struggling as a "just and democratic peace" (V.I. Lenin, "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 13). Such a peace is related to the establishment of a communist socioeconomic system. Its beginning was laid by the Great October Socialist Revolution.

As we know, the opposite of a just and democratic peace is unfair, antidemocratic and reactionary peace based on relations of domination and subordination, class and national oppression, exploitation and social injustice. This type of peace, typical of the capitalist countries, was described by Lenin as imperialist peace (see op. cit., vol 30, p 258).

Taking this into consideration, I suggest that the following definition of peace be inserted in the new draft CPSU program: "The Communist Party and the Soviet state are struggling for a universal just, democratic and progressive peace, a peace for all nations, big and small."

Socialism, the draft emphasizes, is a society whose thoughts and actions in the international arena are directed toward supporting the aspirations of the peoples for independence and social progress and are subordinated to the main task, that of safeguarding and strengthening peace. In our view, the following addition should be made:

"The wars which our socialist state has been forced to wage in its defense were triggered not by internal reasons but by aggressive imperialism. The historical mission of socialism is the assertion of a new, a higher type of peace among nations, a peace which, by virtue of its type, nature, forms and functions would be qualitatively different from all past and present types of peace. It is the most just, democratic and progressive peace, free from the fear of nuclear weapons, a peace to which the future on our planet belongs."

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## LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

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[Article by Dr of Historical Sciences A. Vasilyev; USSR AN Corresponding Member G. Starushenko; and Candidate of Historical Sciences K. Truyevtsev, associates at the USSR AN Africa Institute]

[Text] The draft new edition of the CPSU program assigns a prominent place to problems of the liberated countries which are playing an increasing role in international politics and economics and are contributing to the cause of peace and security of the peoples. Naturally, their further fate and future socioeconomic progress assume particular importance.

The formation of a group of young independent countries, which chose a noncapitalist path and a socialist orientation, was an essentially important aspect in the development of the national liberation movement and the intensification of its social content. These countries entered a qualitatively new stage featured by the breakdown of obsolete social relations and engaged in democratic socioeconomic changes in the interest of the broad popular masses. This is a complex and conflicting process developing in the course of a sharp confrontation with the forces of foreign and domestic reaction which is trying to keep these countries within the capitalist system.

Practical experience proves that noncapitalist development becomes reality as a result of national democratic revolutions and that a socialist orientation develops into a dominant trend with the systematic implementation of a program for socioeconomic change, formulated in the course of this revolution.

In our view, the essence of this process is expressed with the term "national democratic revolution." This term has been tested by time and has become part of the documents of a number of communist and vanguard parties in countries with socialist orientation and is extensively used in scientific publications.

All of this leads us to suggest that the term "national democratic revolution" be inserted in the description of the contemporary epoch.

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## POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CHARACTER OF CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 79-80

[Article by A. Porokhovskiy, candidate of economic sciences and I. Rudakova, dr of economic sciences]

[Text] The description of contemporary capitalism in the project under discussion is significantly different from the one provided in the current edition of the program. Essentially, these differences are unquestionably justified, for they are caused by the need to reflect in the draft the new phenomena and processes which have occurred in the capitalist world in the past 25 years.

In our view, however, the new draft of the program should reproduce the expanded description of the general foundations of capitalism (which reached classical maturity in the age of premonopoly capitalism), as found in the current draft, which was formulated under V.I. Lenin's direct guidance (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, pp 417-419).

To begin with, relations "of capitalism in general" remain the prime foundation of specifically monopolistic relations. The latter, however highly developed they may be, contain within them and recreate specific capitalist relations.

Second, the logic of Lenin's text for a programmatic description of capitalism reproduces "in full" the actual history of this society (from its simplest forms to imperialism and the state-monopoly level of the latter), a history which has by no means been experienced by a considerable number of countries in the capitalist world. Third, under current conditions a trend exists to "reanimate" the principles of classical capitalism (free competition, noninterference in the affairs of private business, market "self-adjustment" of the capitalist mechanism, etc.), living examples of which are provided by the conservative variant of the economic policy pursued in the United States, Great Britain and some other countries.

Fourth, the permanent "huge underlying of all capitalism" (Lenin) is one of the objective socioeconomic foundations for mass democratic movements.

We know that Lenin repeatedly pointed out that imperialism means "financial capitalism," and the "rule of financial capital" (op. cit., vol 38, p 154; vol 27, p 357, etc.). The second party program stipulates that "this age of financial capital and the inevitably aggravating struggle among capitalist countries is the age of imperialism" (op. cit., vol 38, p 420).

The current edition of the CPSU program does not include this formula. However, it includes Lenin's meaningful definition of financial capital as the merger of banking with tremendously concentrated industrial capital, taken from the second program. The draft under discussion does not include the category of financial capital. Yet in the contemporary capitalist world no single significant event in economic and political life (national as well as international) takes place without the participation of financial capital. The tremendous development of the latter is the source of the growing reactionary and aggressive nature of contemporary capitalism.

In this connection, we suggest, first of all, to reinsert in Section 1, Part 1 of the draft the Leninist programmatic formulation we cited and Lenin's definition of financial capital. Secondly, in Section 2 of the draft, add the following after the words "contemporary capitalism is quite different from what it was at the beginning and even the middle of the 20th Century:" "The domination of financial capital, which has assumed command positions in all economic spheres and has subordinated to itself the other aspects of social life, has become even stronger."

The first part of the draft new edition of the CPSU program includes the following thesis: "In the imperialist stage material conditions develop for replacing capitalist with socialist production relations; the objective and subjective prerequisites for a victorious socialist revolution ripen." As it has already been justifiably pointed out, in our opinion, in the discussion of the draft in PRAVDA, it would be expedient to refine this thesis somewhat. Obviously, it is more accurate to raise the question not of the "development" and "ripening" of material conditions and prerequisites for socialism during the imperialist stage of the capitalist production method (for they develop and mature already as a result of the development of premonopoly capitalism, during the free-competition stage of industrial capitalism), but of their increased maturity and growth.

We therefore suggest that this concept be drafted as follows: "The level of maturity of material conditions for replacing capitalist with socialist production relations is enhanced during the imperialist stage and the objective and subjective prerequisites for a victorious socialist revolution increase."

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## SCIENTIFIC PROFUNDITY AND REALISM

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[Article by Otto Rheingold, SED Central Committee member, rector of the SED Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences]

[Text] The draft new edition of the CPSU program has drawn the attention of the broad GDR public and triggered a great deal of interest. Its full text was published in the daily press. The document as a whole, as well as the new evaluations and conclusions it contains, are discussed in our country in a great variety of ways. Some aspects of the discussion are, in my view, particularly important.

First of all, in formulating a new draft for its program, the CPSU offers the concept of a society in which an answer to the question of how socialism resolves social problems at the turn of the 21st Century is provided from Marxist-Leninist positions.

This is a rather difficult problem in the contemporary dynamic and very contradictory world. As we know, conservative and socioreformist forces have long tried to find such a social concept. We also know that they will be unable to do so, above all because the question of how to convert scientific and technical into social progress for the benefit of all members of society and how to link the contemporary scientific and technical revolution with the social confidence of all working people cannot be answered on the basis of their conceptual and political positions.

Even more important is the fact that the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries have a clear program for these decisive problems of social development and are implementing it with increasing skill. It is becoming entirely obvious that the mastery of the scientific and technical revolution--the development of production forces and their general historical and, particularly, social results benefiting the working people--will be one of the key problems of the struggle between the two social systems in future decades.

The description of socialism as the first phase of the communist social system, formulated in the draft new edition of the CPSU program, meets with full approval in the GDR. The SED as well proceeds in its sociopolitical conclusions from the fact that after laying the foundations for socialism a

historical lengthy period must pass, during which all advantages and motive forces and all possibilities and the entire potential, all ideals and values of the socialist system must be developed. It is a question, above all, for socialism extensively to display its social nature and humanistic character. This is the main source of the motive forces of socialist society and a firm foundation for unity between party and people. It is above all precisely here that the advantages of socialism are manifested. That is why the fact that the draft pays close attention to the unbreakable link between economic and social progress and to their dialectical interaction meets with great approval in our country.

It is theoretically as well as practically important that building a socialist society is considered a highly dynamic process. The advantages of socialism may be put to use only if society can develop steadily and dynamically, reaching new heights, if the new crucial decisions are made on time and the necessary practical steps for their implementation are taken. This stipulation is particularly important today, when the pace of scientific and technical progress is accelerating with every passing year. Equally clear is the fact that this applies not only to development of production forces but also of production relations and all other areas of social life. Socialist production relations are a decisive foundation for socialist society. However, they remain such only if their advancement and development as forms of dynamics of production forces take place under contemporary conditions under the influence, above all, of the scientific and technical revolution.

Secondly, the parts in the draft new edition of the CPSU program which discuss the tasks of the Soviet economy and the conversion to intensive expanded reproduction based on scientific and technical progress are of particular interest to the GDR. In previous years economists and workers in the other social sciences have held a number of discussions on these topics and a variety of viewpoints have been expressed. This makes even more important the fact that in their programmatic document the Soviet communists provide clear and unequivocal answers. The following features and aspects are noted:

Socialist society needs a steady and fastest possible qualitative and quantitative economic growth. The advantages of socialism cannot be applied and it cannot fulfill its social tasks without a dynamic economic upsurge;

A decisive struggle is proclaimed against any underestimating of the development of production forces. The headlong, extensive and economically efficient application of contemporary science and technology becomes the center of all efforts; at the same time, the growing role of the human factor is substantiated. The socialist society is mastering scientific and technical progress for the sake and with the help of the person;

The draft programmatic document of the CPSU emphasizes that a conversion to a higher phase in the communist social system is impossible before the highest possible global level of labor productivity has been achieved within the framework of socialism;

The fact that the Soviet economy calls for intensive expanded reproduction is of particular interest to the GDR as well as, in all likelihood, to the other

socialist countries. It has been justifiably pointed out in recent years that the conversion of the entire national economy to the track of intensification is the most difficult task after the development of a socialist planned economy. A number of socialist countries, including the GDR, have already entered the path of intensification and achieved some success. However, each new step here raises new important problems which demand answers to new theoretical questions of great practical significance. That is why the exchange of experience and the joint solution of arising problems become particularly important to us;

In this connection, the stipulations in the draft on the further advancement of economic management and planning, which emphasize that democratic centralism was and remains a decisive principle in the organization of the socialist economy, meet with full approval. Centralized economic and social management is a major prerequisite for the practical utilization of the advantages of socialism in such a way as to make them available to everyone. Our entire collective experience proves that unified economic and social development cannot be achieved and scientific and technical progress cannot be converted into social progress without the leading role of the party and the state. The experience acquired by the GDR since the end of the 1970s indicates that the intensification of the national economy must be related to a significant increase in the responsibility of combines, enterprises and other economic units within the framework of democratic centralism. The possibility and ability flexibly to react to the new requirements are a major prerequisite for production intensification. The conversion to intensive expanded reproduction is achieved not by eliminating or subverting democratic centralism but through its further development in harmony with the new requirements.

The draft new edition of the CPSU program indicates that the further advancement of socialist society is inseparably related to the increased role of Marxist-Leninist parties. The high dynamism of the economic and all other social movements, structural changes in the national economy and unexpected difficulties set new requirements concerning the ability of the ruling party quickly and flexibly to react to them, to draw new conclusions, to formulate new steps and to organize the working people for their implementation.

Equally obvious is the fact that perfecting the educational system is as important as the development of socialist democracy in terms of the efficient implementation of scientific and technical progress, and that the enhancement of spiritual and cultural life is as important as concern for asserting Marxist-Leninist ideology, particularly among young people. These interrelationships are becoming increasingly closer. It is precisely under the party's guidance that they are shaped in such a way as to satisfy the interests of society as a whole and those of its individual members.

Third: the GDR rates highly the study and theoretical summation of international developments contained in the draft new edition of the CPSU program. We are facing an essentially new stage in the history of mankind, at which the question of surviving or perishing will be solved. The study provided in the draft theoretically substantiates the requirement repeatedly

stated by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev of late: the art of living in peace with one another must be mastered.

The problems of peace and of a policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with opposite social systems have become particularly important to mankind. They formulate new requirements and necessarily lead to new conclusions. This emphasizes not only the need to struggle against the arms race and confrontation policy pursued by the most aggressive imperialist circles. We also consider this a requirement addressed to the men of science: they must make their contribution to the theoretical interpretation and practical formulation of the art of living together.

All in all, the draft new edition of the CPSU program is a summation of the entire experience acquired after the Great October Socialist Revolution, particularly in building a socialist society. This is a firm foundation for providing a creative answer to the new problems and tasks arising at the end of our century.

The programmatic document of the CPSU is profoundly realistic. It organically links the summation of historical experience with the new problems to be solved today and tomorrow. Naturally, this is accomplished above all on the basis of the specific conditions governing the development of the land of the soviets. Also important, however, is the fact that the experience and the suggested conclusions are consistent with the common experience of the Marxist-Leninist parties in building socialism and in the struggle for safeguarding peace. That is why the quintessence of all discussions held in the GDR on the draft new edition of the program of the Soviet communists proves that the social concepts of the CPSU and the SED fully coincide.

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## DOCUMENT OF CREATIVE MARXISM-LENINISM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 83-85

[Text] Following are materials sent to KOMMUNIST by the party organizations and scientific councils of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations and Institute of the International Workers Movement. They include the summed up results of the discussions of the draft new edition of the CPSU program at open party meetings and sessions of departments, sectors, chairs and scientific councils of these scientific institutions.

The party members and all associates of the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Social Sciences fully approve and support the principle-minded and constructive ideas of the party's pregress documents.

With these documents the theory of Marxism-Leninism has been enriched with new concepts consistent with the realities of the temporary world. Based on the communist future in the country's development, they provide a clear and expanded description of the strategic trends in the work of the party, the Soviet state and the entire people.

The discussion of the concept of the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country, which is the nucleus of the party's general line, was the axis of the creative discussions of pregress documents which developed at the institute. Numerous the speakers emphasized that the implementation of these tasks will be of domestic and of major international significance. It will contribute to the intensification of socialist economic integration and the further assertion of the principle of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems in international relations; it will intensify even further the attractiveness of socialist ideas and will constitute a substantial contribution to strengthening peace on earth.

The party members in the institute particularly noted the great theoretical and practical significance of the fourth part of the draft new edition of the program: "The Party is the Leading Force in Soviet Society." The entire set of problems relative to the leading and guiding activities of the CPSU and the laws governing its development has been singled out in a separate part of the program. This confirms the increased attention paid to the development and strengthening of the party and to perfecting the level of party leadership.

In the course of the discussion of this part of the draft, the suggestion was formulated to add the following paragraph after the one on strengthening party discipline: "Enhancing the vanguard role of the communists in social life decisively depends on the level of their theoretical training. That is why the CPSU will continue to pay constant attention to the ideological training of its members, the further improvement of party training and the involvement of party members in active propaganda and mass political work."

The scientists at the institute note the value and integrality of the conceptual approach contained in the CPSU Central Committee preconference documents to problems of the contemporary world and the tasks of the party's international policy. The development of the problems of war and peace, in which the historical experience acquired by the CPSU and the entire communist movement over the past decades has been assembled, and the particularly clear characterization of the nature of peaceful coexistence as a specific international order are of special methodological and political significance.

In the course of the discussion of the draft new edition of the CPSU program the suggestion was formulated to end the paragraph on peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems with the statement that "the global economy and the international division of labor are the objective economic foundation for peaceful coexistence." This will strengthen the logical connection with the subsequent text in the third part of the draft, on problems of governmental relations between the USSR and the capitalist and liberated countries.

The theoretical initiatives of the CPSU and its innovative developments of the problems of world social progress go far beyond the framework of our party in terms of significance. Meetings among the institute's scientists and representatives of the fraternal parties, which have been held subsequent to the publication of the preconference documents, have indicated the tremendous interest shown in them in the ranks of the international communist and entire revolutionary movement.

Which problems in the draft program drew the greatest attention of our friends? Above all those of the motive forces of global social progress and the revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle. The dialectics of social development in the contemporary world is such that the motive forces of the revolutionary and anti-imperialist struggle are at the same time fighters for the ideals of humanity, the preservation of peace on earth and the defense of global civilization. The fraternal parties find interesting the innovative formulation of the question of mass democratic movements as a structural component of the motive forces of social progress. Unquestionably, this reflects not only the increased activeness and size of such movements but also the specific nature of their objectives and their mass base.

In discussing the draft new edition of the CPSU program and highly rating and approving its content, by virtue of their professional interests the party members at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations paid particular attention to problems of contemporary global development and the tasks of the CPSU in the international arena and in the struggle for peace and international progress. Suggestions were



formulated on refining some stipulations and introducing a number of new concepts which, in the opinion of scientists dealing with international affairs, would make it possible to upgrade even further the theoretical interpretation of current global processes.

The document contains a profoundly substantiated stipulation on the increased internal instability of the capitalist economy. The entire course of events which took place in the capitalist world in the 1970s and the first half of the 1980s confirms the accuracy of this view. However, it would be incorrect to narrow down the direct manifestation of this process merely to a slowdown in the overall pace of economic growth, for the pace is nothing but a quantitative indicator.

In our view, it would be more accurate to formulate this part of the new draft as follows: "The internal instability of the economy is intensifying, as manifested in the interweaving and intensification of cyclical with structural crises and an overall worsening of conditions in the reproduction process."

The draft new edition of the program accurately characterizes the activities of multinational corporations (TNK). However, let us note that the TNK are only one, albeit most widespread, form of international monopoly capital operating today. The multinational banks are another actively developing form. The tempestuous activities of both such forms of multinational associations, combined with the increased concentration and centralization of capital, could lead to the appearance of new forms of international monopolies. All of this leads to the conclusion that "The strengthening of international monopolies, which operate today essentially as multinational corporations and banks and are extracting huge profits, is the direct result of capitalist production concentration and internationalization...."

The definition of the military-industrial complex provided in the draft seems excessively broad. According to the text, the MIC includes the virtually entire state apparatus ("state bureaucracy") and the entire ideological area ("the ideological apparatus"). However, the contemporary state apparatus has many departments which are neither directly nor, frequently, even indirectly related to military and military-political organizations within the MIC. In our view, by no means could all instruments of ideological influence as well be considered part of the MIC, for which reason the following draft of this definition is suggested: "The monopolies producing weapons, the general staff and the related state bureaucracies and ideological apparatus and militarized science have merged within the military-industrial complex....," followed by the rest of the text.

In the opinion of the institute's scientists, the new draft of the program should also include some new concepts of major theoretical and political significance. A specific one, support for which has already voiced in our press, is including in the new draft the category of "global economy." This category would strengthen even further the theoretical base of the concept of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems.

In this connection, the following formulation could be used: "Socialism has changed the aspect of the global economy. Today it is no longer exclusively

capitalist but consists of two global economic systems--socialist and capitalist. The two systems oppose each-other but also compete and interact, for they are linked through global economic relations."

The idea was repeatedly expressed in the course of the discussions that the draft new edition of the program, which was approved at the October 1895 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, equip social scientists with new concepts and ideas the intensified creative development of which will make it possible substantially to upgrade the theoretical standards of all scientific research on problems of economics and politics of contemporary capitalism, the liberated countries and the system of international relations.

In the light of the analysis provided in the new draft of the CPSU program and the tasks which Marxist-Leninist science face, the trends and prospects of the global revolutionary process were actively discussed by the scientists of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the International Workers Movement. These problems were discussed at an open party meeting and at sessions of departments and sectors and the scientific council.

The concept of the increased role of the working class in society and the broadening of its social boundaries (which is also a result of including within it some workers engaged in mental labor, under the conditions of the contemporary scientific and technical revolution), and the growing significance of the political experience and high-level consciousness and organization of the toiling masses, substantiated in the CPSU programmatic document, are of tremendous basic significance. "The working class was and remains the main revolutionary class of our age." This conclusion included in the draft encourages new research in the development of the working class and the activities of its political and mass organizations, consistent with the requirements of social practice.

The importance of the comprehensive creative study of problems of the origin, functioning and development of the global socialist system is growing. In this respect, the stipulation that the experience gained by the working people in many countries, which have made or are making socialist changes and has revealed both the variety and commonality of laws governing the development of socialism, is of tremendous value. The description of these laws is like a methodological framework and support in the study of the various aspects of the constructive activities of the working class and its political and mass organizations in the socialist society in different countries and at the different stages in the development of the new system.

The draft includes a new concept (compared with the current program) of the socialist community as the sum of countries within world socialism, in which relations of socialist internationalism attain their fullest embodiment.

The draft's realistic assessment of the contemporary capitalist society is very important. It reflects the main changes which have taken place in past decades. Great attention is paid to problems of the situation of and struggle waged by the working people and the broad popular masses in the liberated countries. Reality has confirmed the Leninist party's conclusions that the role of these countries in global politics and economics is increasing.

The profoundly historical nature of the methodological principle in the study of the trends in the global worker and revolutionary liberation movements included in the draft new edition of the CPSU program is of great importance to the students of the working class and the workers movement. Here contemporary problems are considered in the context of universal history and in comparison with past stages in the struggle. The interpretation of the social, ideological and political experience of the working class is important in the struggle for the better future of all mankind.

Some suggestions were formulated on possible additions to and refinements of individual stipulations in the course of the discussion of the draft by the institute's collective. Thus, it was suggested to describe among the sum total of factors which formed the foundations for the new socialist type of international relations (and the world socialist system in general) the basic objective factors and, above all, the uniformity of the social structure of the society and the system, and the commonality of the basic socioeconomic interests of the working class and all working people in countries following the path of socialism and communism; furthermore, it would be expedient to begin precisely with the enumeration of these system-forming factors.

In formulating the tasks in CPSU activities related to strengthening and developing cooperation with the socialist countries, it would be expedient to pay greater attention to the following two aspects of this topic: first, along with a thorough description of the ways of development and comprehensive advancement of cooperation among the communist and worker parties ruling these countries and strengthening intergovernmental relations, this part of the draft should include the stipulation on developing the interaction among labor collectives and strengthening direct social relations among working people in the socialist countries in the areas of public production, training, self-education, recreation and leisure time. Second, the stipulation should be drafted to state that the CPSU ascribes tremendous importance to the development and advancement of relations with all socialist countries and their communist parties and toiling masses. This is an important feature of the work for the unification of the socialist countries, the development of the new social system and the intensification of the latter's advantages over capitalism.

It was suggested to note in the description of contemporary capitalism and the conditions under which the labor movement is developing and the communist parties in the capitalist countries are operating, that the technological restructuring of the economy has a great influence on industrial manpower: sectorial and professional structures of the employed population are changing; the intellectualization of hired labor is continuing in some sectors while monotony and lack of spirit are increasing in others; at the same time, in a number of cases there is growing differentiation between hired workers employed in new production sectors, on the one hand, and workers employed in traditional sectors, on the other.

It was also suggested that the new edition of the party program indicate more extensively that a number of liberated countries, which are frequently presented by imperialist propaganda as "models of development," are the first to become victim of crises in the capitalist world, for they are most deeply

involved in the capitalist division of labor, which is dictated above all by the selfish interests of the multinational corporations. It is for this reason that in those countries social tension is increasing and problems of their economic development, worsening.

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## ON CHANGES IN THE CPSU STATUTES

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 86-87

[Letters to KOMMUNIST from CPSU members]

[Text] The draft new edition of the CPSU program mentions the class nature of the party. I believe that this essentially important concept should be codified in the party statutes as well. To this effect, the text of the preamble should begin as follows: "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the battle-tested vanguard of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia."

The following should be stipulated in the statutes as the first obligation of a party member: "To be loyal to the communist cause and tirelessly struggle for its triumph."

With a view to developing within the party an atmosphere of high reciprocal exigency and to exclude any possible discrediting of the title of CPSU member, I suggest that the first two paragraphs of Paragraph 9 of the draft changes in the Statutes read as follows: "A CPSU member or candidate member will be taken to task for violating the norms of party life and nonfulfillment of statutory obligations and other delinquencies and may be subjected to the following penalties: party reprimand (warning or mention), public exposure, reprimand and strict reprimand. Each of these penalties imposed upon a CPSU member or candidate member once must be recorded in his file. Expulsion from the party is the highest degree of party punishment."

"Individuals who have been reprimanded or strictly reprimanded for violating CPSU statutes may not be appointed to leading party work."

Signed: Professor D. Mutagirov, dr of philosophical sciences, CPSU member since 1960, Leningrad.

Like all comrades in my organization, I approve the draft CPSU statutes (with suggested amendments). I consider the amendments, specifications and additions to the statutes quite timely.

From my viewpoint it would be expedient to add a special point to Paragraph 2: "1. Every party member, whatever his position, must systematically report to

the party members of his primary party organization on the implementation of his statutory obligations."

Signed: Docent A. Buzarov, CPSU member since 1953, Maykop.

I would like to submit for discussion some suggestions which came to mind after reading the draft changes of the CPSU statutes. Above all, I consider expedient that the text of Paragraph 1 be somewhat strengthened by adding to the current draft the requirement that any citizen of the Soviet Union, who not only accepts the party program and statutes but also is strictly guided by them in his daily life may be a member of the CPSU.

I am convinced that the party statutes should stipulate stricter measures against suppressors of criticism. To this effect, Point "i" in Paragraph 2 should include the words "CPSU members guilty of suppressing criticism and of persecuting for criticism may not remain in the party's ranks."

In my view, Point "j" of Paragraph 2 of the draft also needs refining. I suggest that this point be supplemented as follows: "The selection of cadres based on loyalty to an individual, landsmanship or family relationship is a gross violation of statutory requirements. Individuals guilty of such acts must be held strictly accountable by and even expelled from the party."

The first sentence in Paragraph 65 clearly stipulates that the Komsomol works under CPSU guidance. It is then explained the way such work should take place. I submit that the remaining part of the paragraph could be deleted, for, in my view, it makes the concept of "guidance" somewhat unclear.

Signed: Vice-Admiral (retired) A. Komarov, CPSU member since 1929, Moscow.

The discussion of the pregress documents is more lively and interested than ever before. In supporting these documents, on the basis of personal experience, observation and thoughts, I would like to submit several additions to the draft changes in CPSU statutes. Thus, Point "a" in Paragraph 2 could be as follows: "Struggle firmly and steadfastly for the implementation of the CPSU program, implement the party directives and explain to the masses domestic and foreign CPSU policy." Acceptance of the program, as stipulated in Paragraph 1, seems to me insufficient. The party member must struggle for the implementation of the objectives and tasks of the program as a document which defines the party's general line.

In Paragraph 2, Point "b" should be supplemented as follows: "b. Be a model in the implementation of civic duties as stipulated in the USSR Constitution and show a conscientious, active and creative attitude toward labor...." and so on.

Signed: Professor N. Kunin, CPSU member since 1961, Moscow.

I suggest that the following be inserted as a separate point in Paragraph 2, in which the obligations of the party member are discussed: "Bear personal responsibility for the decisions of the party organization;" the following should be added to Point "e" of the same paragraph: "To assert the honest and

pure image of the party member through all actions. The attitude toward a party member to be rated according to his deeds and actions."

Signed: V. Babylev, dispatcher, member of the CPSU since 1971, Pyatigorsk.

I submit as a point of discussion of the draft changes in the CPSU statutes that the stipulation to the effect that the party member must set the example of unity between words and deeds though his actions be added to Paragraph 2.

The following should be inserted in Point "c" of Paragraph 3: "Individuals who use criticism to settle personal accounts should be held accountable to the party." It would also be expedient to include in Point "e" of the same paragraph that the party member has the right to submit questions, petitions and suggestions to any party instance, including the CPSU Central Committee, but also that he "will be held liable for providing disinformation."

Signed: Professor V. Kapranov, CPSU member since 1949, Leningrad.

The publication of the draft CPSU statutes (with suggested amendments) for general discussion is a major event in the life of our party and people. While approving this document, I would also like to suggest some refinements and supplements.

Point "b" of Paragraph 2 should stipulate that the party member should not only set the example of high level organization and discipline but should also strengthen the discipline in his work sector and not disregard any disciplinary violations.

In my view, Paragraph 14 as well needs a certain refinement. The suggested draft notes that the probationary period as candidate party member is needed so that those entering the party may become "more profoundly familiar with the CPSU program and statutes." In my view, this statement should be drafted to read as follows: "Those entering the party undergo the candidate-party probation in order to study the CPSU program and bylaws and be prepared for becoming a party member," and then as written.

Signed: V. Larin, first ship officer, CPSU member since 1957, Klaypeda.

I consider it important that a special item be inserted in Paragraph 3 of the draft amendments of the CPSU statutes: "A party member must show concern for the family and be a model of responsible attitude in the education of children in the spirit of loyalty to the principles of communist morality and high moral behavior."

Signed: R. Magulov, construction worker, CPSU member since 1981, Vladivostok.

It seems to me that the CPSU statutes should provide a clearer and more expanded definition of the basic rules governing the organization and work of the party group.

Bearing in mind the exceptionally important role of the party group in CPSU life, I deem it expedient to expand Paragraph 53 with the insertion of a

number of new stipulations. In particular, the following should be inserted: "A party group may be set up by no less than three party members. Party group meetings are held as necessary but no less than once monthly. A party group organizer and his deputy are elected to head the party group, for a 1-year term. The party group is guided in its activities by the work plans of the primary and shop party organizations."

Furthermore, I deem it important to include the following in said paragraph: "In projects where party members work for a short period of time the creation of temporary party groups should be considered." Currently the widespread practice is to assign party organizers to brigades and other small production collectives where no party members are employed. This must be codified in the party statutes as well.

Signed: G. Fominov, teacher, CPSU member since 1944, Moscow.

From the editors: hundreds of letters by party and nonparty members were received by this journal during the party-wide and nationwide discussion of the precongress documents, submitting remarks and suggestions on various problems of CPSU domestic and foreign policy. KOMMUNIST has been able to publish only some of them. Nevertheless, all ideas contained in the letters were summed up and submitted to the CPSU Central Committee for information. The editors express their warm thanks to the authors of the letters for their party principle-minded and civic activeness.

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## INVINCIBLE AND LEGENDARY

### PARTY CONCERN FOR TROOP COMBAT READINESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 88-97

[Article by Colonel General A. Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy]

[Text] This year's 68th anniversary of the creation of the armed forces of the USSR is celebrated on the eve of the opening of the 27th CPSU Congress. Preparations for the congress triggered a major upsurge in the political, social and labor activeness of the Soviet people and in the army and navy.

The resolutions of the April and October 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenums and the draft new editions of the CPSU program and CPSU statutes (with suggested amendments) and the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000 were welcomed with warm approval and support by the party, the people and the armed forces. They were extensively discussed in the course of the accountability and election campaign in the party organizations and at meetings of the personnel of units, ships, establishments and military schools.

The party is advancing toward its next congress with a clearly formulated program for peace and communist building. It is summing up accomplishments and formulating ways of our advance. The essence of its strategic course is the planned and comprehensive advancement of socialism and the further progress of Soviet society toward communism on the basis of the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development. As in the past, the CPSU pays tireless attention to creating favorable foreign policy conditions for peaceful building, strengthening the defense of the Soviet state and upgrading the combat readiness of its armed forces. This is necessitated by the difficult international situation.

The leadership provided by the Communist Party in military building and of the armed forces was and remains the very foundation for strengthening the defense of the socialist homeland. This is clearly stipulated in the draft new edition of the CPSU program.

The party's combat detachment--the army and navy party members--rally the personnel around the Communist Party, spread its ideas among the masses, and lead the troops to military activities with their example. They are always

present at the key sectors of military building and upgrading the combat readiness of the army and navy. Party organizations may be found in nearly 80 percent of companies and batteries of the land forces. The overwhelming majority of combat crews of the strategic missile troops are staffed exclusively by communists. Party members account for more than 80 percent of air force pilots and navigators, more than 90 percent of navy missile submarines and 95 percent of officers in the combat control of PVO duty forces. The party ranks are staffed by personnel in the leading areas, those on whom achieving high combat readiness depends greatly. More than four-fifths of all party members who have joined the party in recent years serve in line units and ships. Party members are heading the leading formations and units and the overwhelming majority of subunits which have achieved excellent or good results in combat and political training.

The main result of the activities of army and navy party members in implementing the resolutions of the 26th CPSU Congress is the fact that the USSR armed forces are honorably fulfilling their duty: they are reliably protecting the socialist fatherland and maintaining constant combat readiness, which guarantees immediate resistance to any aggressor. The army and navy personnel are infinitely loyal to their people, party and homeland.

This was the topic discussed at the past accountability and election meetings and party conferences. The accountability and election campaign proved the increased activeness of the party members. Virtually all party members spoke out at the meetings held in the primary party organizations; more than one-half spoke at battalion and one-third at primary party organization meetings.

With warm interest the party members identified possibilities of upgrading combat and mobilization readiness, perfecting training and strengthening discipline and order. Criticism and self-criticism were sharper and more specific than in the past; the work of the party organizations was analyzed more profoundly; unresolved problems were brought to light and a greater number of specific practical suggestions were made to improve the work style.

Thanks to the party's tireless concern and the military efforts of the party members and the entire personnel after the 26th CPSU Congress, the country's defense capability and the combat power of the army rose to a qualitatively new level. The military-strategic parity between the USSR and the United States and the Warsaw Pact and NATO has been preserved. This truly historical achievement of socialism, as was noted in the draft new edition of the CPSU program, strengthened the positions of the socialist countries and dashed the hope of aggressive imperialist circles of winning a global nuclear war.

Under the circumstances of a difficult international situation, the Soviet Union is displaying consistent love of peace, restraint and a constructive attitude, combined with a firm rebuff of reactionary forces. This stance was one of the most important factors at the Geneva Soviet-American Summit. The declaration by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, formulated new and specific initiatives with precise deadlines. The most important among them is to free the earth from nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction by the end of this century.

In struggling for peace throughout the world, the Soviet Union cannot ignore the fact that the American administration has still not abandoned the temptation of testing the possibility of gaining military superiority and that influential forces which oppose improvements in Soviet-American relations are very active in the United States.

While pursuing a course of maintaining strategic parity, the CPSU displays invariable concern for the combat potential of the Soviet armed forces. This potential must be a firm alloy of high technical facilities, military skill, ideological firmness and personnel organization and discipline, and loyalty to patriotic and international duty.

In implementing the resolutions of the 26th Party Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee Plenums, the party members and army and navy troops took a new step in the combat advancement of subunits, units, ships and administrative bodies. All political, organizational and ideological work of military councils, commanders, staffs and political bodies and the efforts of party and Komsomol members were subordinated to solving problems of prime importance: maintaining constant combat readiness, and ensuring high intensity and efficiency in combat training, mastering the new equipment and weaponry within a short time, making fuller use of available possibilities in personnel training and upbringing and tirelessly strengthening military discipline and statutory order.

Under the conditions of a difficult international situation it is important to strengthen the party's influence among troops on combat duty. The forces on duty are in the front line of the country's defense and it is here that commanders, political workers and party organizations concentrate their forces above all, so that the personnel is always in a state of combat readiness and able to respond to any enemy challenge promptly and decisively. The party members on combat duty headed the movement for reducing the time of readiness and action of combat crews, for the fastest possible mastery of the complex armament sets and systems, and control and communications facilities, for punctual and efficient action by duty shifts and preventing any manifestations of carelessness and placidity.

The level of combat readiness has become the main criterion in assessing the quality of training of units and ships.

Victory in modern combat is impossible without high military skill. New weapons and combat materiel demand both the excellent training of the individual soldier as well as the organized and efficient actions of subunits, units and large units under all circumstances.

Under the conditions of the intensifying process of specialization of military work, developing military skills is becoming an increasingly comprehensive activity. The main attention is focused on the specialist on whom the combat readiness of subunits, units and ship depends above all. No less important in this case is the differentiated rating of the level of combat skills in terms of specific type of duty or specialty. The activities of party-member commanders is rated, above all, on the basis of their skill to organize combat, to achieve the strict implementation of assignments, to teach the

people, and to rally and lead them. The staff officer must possess qualities such as practicality and efficiency in the work and the ability to give the commanding officer the possibility of providing firm, continuing and reliable troop control. The specialist, whatever his area, must master the combat equipment within an extremely short time and be able to make maximal use of its firing, striking and maneuvering potential.

All of this has raised with particular urgency the question of upgrading the efficiency and practical trend of combat training. The example set by the party members in perfecting military skills plays a great role. The main thing for the soldier who is a party member is to learn military skills everyday and to be a high grade specialist.

The organizers of the training process are making it increasingly intensive, trying to develop an efficient rhythm in the training process and to ensure the strict implementation of curriculums and programs. Upgrading training efficiency, in the course of which classroom work, training, flights and marches maximally contribute to shaping moral-combat qualities in the personnel, is a subject of particular party concern.

By extending their influence on the entire personnel, most party members are setting the example in mastering military work. More than 60 percent of party members and candidate members are today masters of military work and higher grade specialists.

For quite some time the successes of the crew of the submarine "Leninets" have enjoyed a good reputation in the Northern Fleet. Year after year the crew has achieved high results in combat training and service. Based on the results of last school year, the submarine was rated excellent and awarded the Red Challenge Banner of the Northern Fleet Military Council. In explaining the "secrets" of the achieved stable high results, Captain Second Rank V. Prudnikov, the nuclear submarine commander, proudly spoke at the fleet's party conference of the contribution made by the party members. Every second member of the submarine crew is a party member. The captain and the party buro direct the efforts of the party members toward perfecting tactical knowledge and technical skills. The training of grade specialists is one of the basic problems in combat training. It is no accident that nearly one-half of the crew are masters of their specialty and the overwhelming majority of the seamen can confidently take over from their comrades.

Many party members have received state awards for high indicators in combat and political training. Many among them have displayed courage and heroism in performing their international duty in Afghanistan. The armed forces proudly mention Heroes of the Soviet Union Colonels Ye. Vysotskiy and Yu. Kuznetsov, Majors R. Aushev, G. Kuchkin, V. Pimenov and F. Pugachev, Captain I. Zaporozhan and others.

All arms and branches of the armed forces, military districts, groups of forces and fleets number units, ships and large units which achieve high and stable results in combat and political training year after year.

Such leading units include the Guards Motorized Infantry Irkutsk-Pinsk Division imeni Verkhovnyy Sovet RSFSR, the Guards Motorized Infantry Taman Division imeni M.I. Kalinin, the Motorized Infantry Samaro-Ulyanovskaya and Berdichevskaya Zheleznaya Divisions, the Guards Tank Chertovskiy Regiment imeni Marshal Bronetankovykh Voysk M.Ye. Kartukov, the Guards Antiaircraft Missile Putilov-Kirov PVO Regiment, the Missile Cruiser "Slava" and other units and ships.

Here as everywhere else the people change, the combat materiel is updated and the tasks become more complicated. What remain unchanged, however, are the high combat spirit, and dissatisfaction with achievements.

The bearers of these qualities are, above all, the party members. It is their personal example in the implementation of duties, exigent attitude toward successes and shortcomings, self-critical assessment of accomplishments and loyalty to their word that create an atmosphere of continuity and contribute to achieving high combat skills, discipline and organization.

Unfortunately, however, some party members in the troops work without the necessary stress, growing sluggishly from the operative-tactical viewpoint, poorly familiar with regulation equipment and armaments, and achieving poor results in firing and driving combat vehicles. As a rule, this happens wherever individual demand for the implementation of party and military duty has been lowered and where political bodies guiding the work of party organizations, which must set the example to the party members, fail to provide sufficiently specific guidance in the work.

The strength of our army and navy lies in the high political consciousness of the personnel. The party organizations in the armed forces are doing a great deal for every soldier to acquire firm ideological tempering and to develop a high feeling of civic-mindedness.

The ideological work of army and navy party members has become substantially richer in recent years. Greater attention is being paid to combining ideological steps with the solution of specific combat training problems; uniform policy days and theoretical conferences and discussions on topical problems of CPSU domestic and foreign policy have become firmly incorporated in daily practical work. Party participation in mass agitation work by party members in leading positions has been energized. In the course of preparations for and celebration of the 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people in the Great Patriotic War great experience was acquired in heroic-patriotic and internationalist upbringing.

Particular attention is being paid to perfecting political training as part of the measures aimed at promoting the ideological influence of commanders, political bodies and party organizations on all personnel categories. In recent years political work has become richer in content, organizationally more efficient, more purposeful and more varied. Foreign policy conditions and requirements based on them in terms of training the armed forces are being taken more fully into consideration in training. The absolute majority of the students are firmly mastering the curriculum, properly assessing events at

home and abroad and backing their high political consciousness with specific daily actions in their service and combat training.

Unquestionably, the study of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the topical problems of party activities for the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development this school year will enhance the level of political training. The main problems to be studied are strengthening the economic and defense power of the Soviet state, upgrading the combat potential of our armed forces, perfecting the political, military and moral upbringing of the personnel and strengthening military discipline.

The still frequent cases of formalism, poor ties between training and the life of the subunits, disparity between increased requirements and the educational and cultural standards of the personnel and the low quality of training and activities are obstacles in increasing the influence of political training and all ideological work, the education of the people and the state of affairs in military collectives. Political bodies and party organizations face the important task of enhancing the theoretical level and methodical skill of the ideological aktiv in the army and navy.

Efficient ideological work in the army and navy means concentrating the main efforts in the primary collectives, where the success of training and upbringing is decided. This would enable commanders and party activists to make a more profound study of the situation in the subunits, to become more familiar with the people and their demands and moods, to train the personnel on the basis of the positive examples in military service and promptly to identify and efficiently to eliminate omissions and shortcomings. It is precisely in this area that the need for unity between ideological and organizational work is particularly clear.

The army and navy party members consider it their most important task to improve the leadership of the Komsomol organizations. Today most army and navy party members are working in these organizations. The implementation of the familiar CPSU Central Committee decree made a certain improvement in this work possible. However, the contribution of the army and navy Komsomol in the education of young people and in resolving basic problems of upgrading the combat power of the armed forces must become substantially greater.

In our view, the main thing is to strengthen the Komsomol organizations with party members who love and are able energetically to work with young people, to make a more profound study of their problems, to give real support to useful Komsomol initiatives and to struggle against ostentatiousness, meaningless meetings and paper shuffling.

A rich material base has been created for educating the personnel in the armed forces: there are thousands of clubs for officers, soldiers and seamen, motion-picture facilities and local broadcasting stations. There are more than 120 million books in the libraries. Everyday the army and navy receives millions of copies of the central, military and local press. The military publishing house of the Ministry of Defense publishes more than 2,500 different books, pamphlets, albums and posters every year, totaling about 70 million copies. Every year more than 100 new feature and as many as 250

documentary and popular-science motion pictures are offered to the troops. In recent years the availability of television sets among the troops has tripled and that of radio receivers has increased tenfold. Thanks to satellite television, Moscow's Channel 1 can be seen by Soviet troops performing their international duty in Afghanistan, the military personnel of the group of Soviet forces abroad, and the distant garrisons in Siberia, Central Asia, the Transbaykal and the Far East.

Mass cultural work is being done better than in other places in the units and cultural and educational institutions of the Belorussian, Carpathian, Baltic and Transcaucasian military districts, the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and the Southern Group of Forces.

However, we must point out that in some garrisons the people are frequently dissatisfied with the level of cultural services and the organization of leisure time. This is felt most frequently in the distant garrisons, in isolated areas where small subunits are performing their military service. Extensive opportunities for improving mass cultural work are opening up in relation to the participation of army and navy personnel, workers and employees and members of families of military servicemen in the second all-union festival of people's creativity, dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

The party, which displays constant concern for the needs of the army and navy, pays tireless attention to the organization of the daily life of the personnel and to providing them with everything necessary for performing their military service, and with the organization of food, material supplies and medical services. The CPSU Central Committee Politburo recently passed a resolution on improving the availability of housing for military personnel. The local party, soviet and economic bodies are doing a great deal to meet the needs of their families.

Commanders, political workers and the party aktiv are concerned with making the soldiers' barracks or the navy crews' quarters warm, bright and cozy, as stipulated in military regulations. They must be warm not only physically but also spiritually, with typical sincere soldierly friendship, strong army comradeship, human goodness and mutual aid and profound respect for the personality of the defender of the socialist homeland. At the same time, however, one must remember that even the warmest words will fail to reach the heart of the soldier unless he is supplied with everything necessary.

In pursuing the strategic course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, the CPSU sharply raises the question of upgrading discipline, organization and order in socialist society as the most important prerequisite for the energizing of the human factor and the successful implementation of constructive assignments.

The question of discipline is particularly important to the armed forces. It is an old truth that without discipline there is no army. Under today's circumstances, the interconnection between discipline and combat readiness has become closer than ever. Even the slightest manifestations of lack of discipline on combat duty could have major negative consequences and harm the

implementation of tasks of national importance. Increasingly complex and expensive equipment is being supplied to the army and navy. Ignoring technological discipline is fraught with breakdown of weapons and with accidents.

Modern combat and operations require high efficiency, organization, cooperation and performance, and firm control. No victory is possible unless the personnel have been taught to act in this manner.

Conscious discipline has been asserted in the Soviet armed forces from their very birth. It presumes deep awareness of duty to the homeland, strict and precise observance of Soviet laws and military regulations and instructions and the orders of commanders-in-chiefs. In this, substituting rudeness for exigency, something still encountered in the army and navy, is absolutely inadmissible.

The statutory organization of the entire combat and political training and the way of life in the army and navy is of prime importance among the measures aimed at strengthening military discipline. The unit commanded by Lieutenant Colonel A. Tamgin was named among the best at the party conference of the Far Eastern Military District. Many found this unexpected, for until very recently, before his appointment, the situation in that military collective had triggered major concern among the command.

In assuming his duties, the commander saw that the unit had everything it needed to improve the situation. However, the people had to be urged on. An end had to be put failing and postponing classes in some subunits. Unit duties had to be made more efficient and the living and leisure-time conditions of the personnel had to be improved.

After sharing his considerations with deputy commanders and commanders of subunits and party and Komsomol activists, Lieut Col A. Tamgin obtained their support. He concentrated on upgrading the role and prestige of company commanders, on their training and giving them the necessary help. He spared no time for work with lagging subunits. The personal example of this party member and leader had a beneficial influence on the officers. They began to concern themselves more with the people and became stricter toward themselves. Despite the increased effort in the work, with increasing frequency company and squad commanders became pleased with the positive results. Their initiative, creativity and independence increased substantially. They submitted a number of interesting suggestions on improving the structure and service of company master sergeants and junior commanders, for whose benefit regular training classes were organized and who were given practical lessons in how to maintain statutory order.

The party committee and the party organization in the unit helped the commander to institute regulation order. They did a great deal to strengthen the authority of one-man commanders. They improved knowledge of military regulations and all educational work.

In the final account, utilization of reserves of discipline and organization combined with other factors, is what made a change for the better.



Discipline is ensured by combining the high exigency of all superiors toward their subordinates in their daily training with concern and respect for the dignity of the people. The party organizations and party members are making great efforts to maintain a state of organic unity in such activities.

The further unification of military collectives is very important in the work of party organizations under contemporary conditions. As a whole, these collectives consist of young people whose characters are still being formed. This requires a great deal of skill on the part of the educators. The main efforts are concentrated on strengthening troop friendship and comradeship, combat reciprocal support and a healthy moral and psychological atmosphere.

Socialist competition under the slogan of "We Shall Implement the Resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and Reliably Protect the Gains of Socialism!" is being organized currently in the armed forces. It was initiated by the collectives of leading units commanded by Lieut Col T. Mayakov, Guards Lieut Colonels A. Grigorash and A. Kurdenkov, Colonel A. Zemlyanny and the crew of the nuclear missile submarine commanded by Captain First Rank V. Ivanov.

Typical of the new stage in the socialist competition this school year is, above all, concentration on the profound study and steadfast implementation of the resolutions of the forthcoming CPSU Congress and the maintenance of the armed forces on a level which would exclude the superiority of imperialist forces. The priority targets in the competition are the enhanced quality indicators in carrying out assignments of combat readiness, combat and political training, faster mastery by the personnel of weapons and military materiel, efficient utilization of material resources and strengthening discipline, organization and statutory order. Pace, quality, thrift and high level discipline and organization have become the main slogan of the day in the activities of commanders, staffs, political bodies, party and Komsomol organizations and the entire personnel.

The practical rhythm of the competition is largely determined by the fact that the party members have headed the mass movement for gaining or upgrading ratings, mastering related or second skills, striking targets at maximal range with the first shot, burst or launch, day or night, high rating of each training class, flight, march and school day, etc.

The initial results of the implementation of obligations were summed up on the eve of the 27th Congress. As a whole, they were positive, not only among the initiators but also among many other military collectives.

However, this is merely the beginning. Extensive work remains to be done to keep the word given to the homeland. This also requires the energetic elimination of formalism and red tape in organizing the competition, which are still found in individual units and ships.

Unfortunately, there also still remain leaders who believe that the main aspect of the competition is to assume obligations, to present in a suitable manner and sum up the results at the proper time, and the rest will come by itself. It is no accident that last year, some military units which had assumed the obligation to become excellent did not keep their word and their

rating based on annual results was no more than satisfactory. These are not isolated examples. The main reason here is that the party members among the leadership and the party organizations did not back the words with actions. They failed to develop an efficient rhythm in combat training and did not formulate strict requirements for commanders and political workers on the implementation of obligations. They failed to make them feel that the competition must become an inseparable part of the training and education process.

The crucial nature of this period in the country's life and of the need to solve the new and harder problems of socioeconomic, cultural and military building objectively require the reorganization of party work. This fully applies to perfecting party and political work in the army and navy.

In implementing the CPSU Central Committee's instructions, the political bodies and party organizations have charted a course of restructuring the consciousness, mentality, style and means and methods of work of military cadres, the party aktiv and every party member.

Everyone recognizes that this is the powerful imperative of the time. However, a great deal must be done to ensure the proper understanding of the nature of the forthcoming changes and to develop a corresponding line of activities in accordance with the specific work on different levels and in the different units of army and navy control. However, some leaders have still not fully realized the nature of the new requirements and are making greater efforts to adapt to the situation rather than truly reorganize themselves.

Today everyone must tighten up, display his energy and capabilities to the fullest extent and, sparing no efforts, achieve high results.

The political bodies and party organizations are directing their main efforts on making our cadres, the command party members above all, abandon complacency based on achievements and their old yardsticks and assessments, show a responsible attitude toward assignments and work in a creative, purposeful, long-term and precise style.

We are increasingly concentrating our efforts on organizing matters directly in units and subunits and on attaining practical results. In the light of the party's current requirements concerning the energizing of the human factor, we must upgrade the efficiency of cadre policy in the armed forces. It is important for every officer, general and admiral to be responsible for the implementation of his functions and to assume full responsibility for combat readiness, implementation of plans for combat and political training, and strengthening statutory order and military discipline.

The CPSU considers the problems of perfecting the defense capability of the Soviet state organically linked with strengthening its combat cooperation with the armies of the fraternal socialist countries. Military cooperation within the Warsaw Pact has assumed a comprehensive nature and is having a favorable influence on the development of the allied armies, of our entire military coalition.

Comprehensive experience has been gained in conducting command-staff and army (navy) tactical-special exercises and war games and conferences and meetings of the command of the fraternal armies. Special emphasis is put on perfecting skills in preparing for and conducting contemporary operations and maintaining close interaction among national troops (forces) and their control.

Serious attention is paid to the development of working contacts among political bodies of fraternal armies, to summing up and applying progressive experience in party-political work and raising the troops in a spirit of patriotism and proletarian and socialist internationalism and readiness to defend the gains of socialism together and through joint efforts.

Ties among among the personnel of Soviet groups of forces and the national armed forces have become traditional. Joint exercises, friendship evenings, celebrations of noted anniversaries and amateur concerts have firmly become part of the daily life of subunits and units.

Under the difficult circumstances of the undeclared war unleashed by imperialism and reaction, the Soviet troops are fulfilling their international duty in Afghanistan by helping the friendly people to defend the gains of the April Revolution. This help is selfless and noble. It is highly appreciated by the Afghan people and the People's Democratic Party and government of Afghanistan. The combat friendship between Afghan and Soviet forces is strengthening in the course of the joint struggle.

The strength of our army rests on its unity with the people. In recent years this unity has become even stronger. It has become substantially enriched and even more meaningful. This is specifically manifested in the active participation of the Soviet troops in the country's sociopolitical life. Thousands of party members from the armed forces have been elected members of the soviets of people's deputies and are members of the central committees of communist parties of union republics or leading party bodies of krays, oblasts, autonomous republics, cities and rayons. The army and navy party members will have dozens of military delegates representing them at the 27th CPSU Congress. They will include noted military chiefs, commanders, political workers, party activists and soldiers who have attained high training and service indicators, such as Hero of the Soviet Union Captain A. Chernozhukov, sniper O. Sherstobitov, bearer of the "For Courage" medal, marine infantry battalion commander Major G. Yagodinets, squadron commander Major Yu. Furs, Captain Lieutenant A. Malkov, party committee secretary aboard the cruiser "Oktyabrskaya Revolyutsiya," Ensign A. Filatov, company party organization secretary, and senior warrant officer S. Shleyev, crew commander, who has participated in more than 15 long-term campaigns.

Military districts and fleets are extensively coordinating and implementing plans for the patriotic and internationalist upbringing of young people in conjunction with the central committees of communist parties of union republics and CPSU kraykoms and obkoms.

DOSAAB is engaged in active mass defense work in promoting the strengthening of the country's defense capabilities and training the working people and youth to defend the homeland. Today this voluntary society has more than 100

million members. Thanks to its efforts, an increasing number of draftees have mastered the necessary military skills even before entering army service.

The ties between the troops and the men of science, culture and art and the organizations of the Znaniye All-Union Society are strengthening and intensifying. The mass information media are greatly helping in the military-patriotic upbringing of the working people and the army and navy troops.

The Leninist Komsomol and the other public and sports organizations, labor collectives, general education and vocational schools and secondary specialized and higher educational institutions are making a great contribution to the training and upbringing of a worthy reinforcement of the armed forces.

The activities of the political bodies and party organizations in the army and navy are always kept in sight by the CPSU Central Committee. The party members have accepted the tasks set in the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the conference of the leading personnel of the armed forces, which was held in July 1985 in Minsk, as a combat program for military building, training and educating the personnel and strengthening discipline and organization. The all-army conference of secretaries of primary party organizations (May 1982) and the all-army conference of secretaries of Komsomol organizations (May 1984), held by CPSU Central Committee decision, and the implementation of their recommendations provided a major impetus to party work.

Commanders, staffs, political bodies, party organizations and all party members in the army and navy have actively joined in the implementation of the party's programmatic stipulations on defense problems, which have been included in the plans for the combat and political training of the armed forces in the years to come. However, the main work lies ahead. The army and navy party members assure the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet people that they will do everything necessary to ensure the reliable defense of their homeland and that the year of the 27th Party Congress will become one of decisive enhancement of activities of army and navy party organizations.

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## UNDER THE BANNER OF INTERNATIONALISM

### ON THE CENTENNIAL OF BELA KUN'S BIRTH

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[Article by Janos Berecz]

[Text] Bela Kun's character was formed in his youth under the influence of the enlightened circles of the intelligentsia in Oradea, Budapest and Cluj, whose views laid the ideological foundation which shaped his career. He was not even 17 when he joined the Hungarian Social Democratic Party (HSDP) in 1902. He then participated in the activities of student socialist circles.

Under the influence of a labor surrounding and Marxist literature, Bela Kun realized that a sharp tension was growing in Hungarian society: antagonistic contradictions existed between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, the masses of poor peasants were suffering, the national problem had not been resolved and Hungary's dependence on Hapsburg Austria remained. Becoming a journalist and, subsequently, leader of worker organizations, B. Kun wrote a number of articles on such problems, organized strikes and drafted revolutionary leaflets, for which activities he was sent to the Czillag Seged prison of sinister reputation. After 1908 he became known as a noted leader of the social democratic movement in a large part of the country. At that time the leadership of the Hungarian Social Democratic Party consisted of reformists in theory and opportunists in politics, who tried to delay the revolutionary solution of the most vital sociopolitical problems, focusing their main attention on alliances with bourgeois politicians in the electoral struggle. Kun pointed out the erroneousness of this line at the HSDP congress in 1913. One year later, once again he opposed the official line of the Hungarian social democrats, taking antimilitaristic positions. Until the mobilization itself (which virtually all social democratic leaders supporting the government were able to avoid) Kun worked on his study of "Marx and War."

#### The Revolutionary's Career

Bela Kun was sent to the front in 1916 and captured after the Brusilov Breach. In Tomsk, which was a most important Siberian cultural and administration center and one of the centers of the Siberian labor movement, he headed a group of progressive prisoners of war (including his coeval Ferenc Munnich) and turned it into a group of socialists. Even before the overthrow of Tsarism he had established contacts with the leaders of the local bolsheviks.

In March 1917 Bela Kun addressed a meeting welcoming the victory of the February Revolution. His name began to appear in the newspapers of the Russian social democrats. He was the first to formulate the thought which excited thousands of his fellow prisoners: whatever the skeptics and enemies of the Russian Revolution may say, the sparks of the revolution had flown far and will ignite the flames of the revolution throughout Europe.

After the victory of the October Revolution the leader of the Hungarian workers, who was gradually developing as a conscious bolshevik-type politician, began to play a noted role in the life of Soviet Russia. Starting with January 1918, his name began to appear with increasing frequency among the authors of articles in PRAVDA and IZVESTIYA. B. Kun was also present wherever personal example was necessary: in the days of the birth of the Red Army, in February 1918, he took part in the battles against the German forces at Narva; in May he was in the ranks those who were disarming detachments of anarchists in Moscow; on 6 June, during the dramatic hours of the mutiny of left-wing S.R., he headed the detachment of Hungarian internationalists, including some Latvian infantrymen. This detachment expelled the mutineers from the main post office building. In the autumn of 1918 B. Kun went to one of the most difficult sectors in the front, where a critical situation had developed, in the Urals, and fought against the White Cossack troops and the White Czechs. V.I. Lenin spoke of Kun's activities: "Comrade Bela Kun is our comrade and a communist who has covered the entire path of bolshevism in Russia...." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 38, p 260).

"Comrade Bela Kun.... frequently came to me to discuss communism and the communist revolution," Lenin wrote (ibid., p 232). To Kun these talks were a school of revolutionary movement. The Hungarian communist group under the RKP(b) Central Committee was set up under his leadership in March 1918; subsequently, other nationalities set up their own communist groups with his active participation. Finally, in May 1918 these groups joined into a federation which elected Kun as its chairman. His tireless work in that position was extensively discussed at the 8th RKP(b) Congress, where, highly rating the work of foreign communist groups, Lenin said: "...we note here the real basis of what we did for the Third International" (ibid., p 147).

The first stage in Bela Kun's activities in Soviet Russia came to an end with his return to Hungary. It was precisely then that a bourgeois democratic revolution had succeeded in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. However, the deep sociopolitical crisis triggered by the imperialist world war had remained unresolved. Neither bourgeois politicians nor social democrats had provided a satisfactory answer to the basic problems of the times and of Hungarian society. Nonetheless, in addition to objective conditions, the founding of a Hungarian Communist Party required an additional impetus, which was provided by the return of Bela Kun and his comrades, former prisoners of war who had undergone Leninist training and gained experience in the revolutionary labor movement in their country and abroad. Acting in a creative Leninist manner, together with the most radical members of the Hungarian labor movement, on 24 November 1918 Bela Kun created the Hungarian Communist Party--the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat capable of applying Marxist theory in its practices.

The communist theories on the reasons for the world war, the possibility of and need for a proletarian revolution and the revolutionary expropriation of means of production, banks and large estates and, last but not least, the advantages of establishing an alliance between Hungary, which was in the power of the Entente, and Soviet Russia, which had taken roots in Hungary largely thanks to Kun, were a tried manual for action to hundreds of thousands of protesting working people. In February 1919 the coalition of ruling bourgeois parties and social democrats made the decision to distance itself from the headquarters of the Hungarian Communist Party, which was becoming stronger with every passing day. A little more and Bela Kun, who was imprisoned, would have shared the tragic fate of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

However, repressive measures did not help the government to achieve the desired results. Although the almost entire party central committee found itself in the central transfer jail, it did not stop acting and the popularity of the communists increased even further. In March 1919 the Budapest Soviet of Workers' Deputies passes a decree on the socialization of plant and factories. Soviets were formed in many other cities and villages. The final and mortal strike at the coalition of bourgeois parties and social democrats was dealt by the "Vix Note" of the Entente, which called for the occupation of a number of cities. It was the working class, the working people, who demanded an alliance with Soviet Russia, who took into their hands the fate of the country which had found itself in a dead-end street and become an arena of national and social cataclysms. "I believe that the salvation of the Hungarian proletariat will not lead to speculations with American food or coal purchased against equipment supplied to Polish and Ukrainian counterrevolutionary mercenaries of the Entente--they can only impose imperialist slavery--but, above all, to an alliance with the Russian, German, Latvian and Ukrainian revolutionary proletariat. Such is our foreign policy problem which demands immediate solution; in this sense it is also a question of urgent joint activities," was the way Bela Kun formulated the alternative he offered to the Social Democratic Party of Hungary and the trade unions and to the entire Hungarian working people on behalf of his communist comrades (see B. Kun, "O Vengerskoy Sovetskoy Respublike" [On the Hungarian Soviet Republic], Moscow, 1966, p 129).

Workers came to power in Hungary on 21 March 1919. This was a clear confirmation, one more convincing proof of the fact that the Hungarian labor movement had always been an organic part of the international movement and had developed in close interconnection with Lenin's party and the other young fraternal parties. Between November 1918 and March 1919, particularly after the proclamation of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, Budapest became the epicenter of the revolutionary movement in the entire region.

During the existence of the commune in Hungary, Bela Kun proved that he was an outstanding politician who could undertake the solution of major and difficult historical problems which had appeared during the turning period in the destinies of the country. The decisions he made confirmed his daring. He deliberately avoided sectarian self-isolation and promoted political flexibility. Kun headed the leading body of the revolutionary governmental council--the five-member Political Directorate. He was people's commissar of foreign affairs and, subsequently, headed the people's commissariat of

military affairs. He contributed a particularly great deal to strengthening the ties linking Hungary with Soviet Russia. We consider him one of the most noted initiators of the internationalist friendship between the Hungarian and Soviet peoples. In May 1919 G.V. Chicherin, the Soviet people's commissar of foreign affairs, wrote that Lenin and all Soviet Russia highly respect and value Bela Kun and acknowledge his accomplishments.

This acknowledgment was greatly deserved also because the proclamation of a proletarian state in Hungary historically proved that the establishment of working class power may take different ways but that the fact that a Hungarian Soviet Republic had been established after the revolution could no longer be considered something exclusive. In March 1919, in welcoming the victory of the revolution in Hungary, Lenin pointed out to Bela Kun and the best representatives of the Hungarian working class that it is "absolutely unquestionable.... that the precise emulation of our Russian tactics in all details and considering the characteristic features of the Hungarian revolution, would be an error" (op. cit., vol 38, p 217).

This, however, does not mean that the two allied proletarian states, which existed and struggled under different historical circumstances, shared few common laws or that they did not aspire to help each other during their most difficult hours. "The Hungarian proletarian revolution not only drew on itself the blows of the international counterrevolution but also some of its forces at a time when the domestic and foreign situation of the Russian Soviet Republic was the most difficult," B. Kun recalled 10 years later (B. Kun, op. cit., p 433). It was not the lack of efforts on the part of the leaders of the Soviet Republic and the Hungarian working people but the superior military power of the imperialist members of the Entente that prevented the Hungarian and Soviet Red Armies from crossing the Carpathians.

After the defeat of the Soviet Republic, Bela Kun was interned in Austria but continued his activities in building the party, trying to rebuild the Communist Party of Hungary. As of that moment the main topic of his articles was the history of the Soviet Republic in Hungary, the lessons drawn from its defeat and the search of means for continuing the struggle in the future.

By the end of the summer of 1920, thanks to the intervention of the Soviet government and personally Lenin, Bela Kun was set free. He returned to Soviet Russia where once again he assumed command positions at the civil war fronts. In October 1920 he was appointed member of the Revolutionary Council of the Southern Front, which was fighting Vrangeli's forces. After the victory he became the first chairman of the Crimean Revolutionary Committee. Bela Kun became member of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee in 1921 and in that position participated in the work of the historical congress of soviets, which proclaimed the founding of the USSR. In the spring of 1922 Lenin sent Kun to the Urals where, as member of the RKP(b) Central Committee Ural Bureau, he did party work. In 1923-1924, during the period of RKP(b) discussions, Kun became the representative of the Party Central Committee to the Komsomol Central Committee and engaged in active struggle against Trotskyism.

The international communist and worker movements were another major sphere of Kun's activities in the 1920s and 1930s. He was an active member of the



leading bodies of the Communist International; between 1921 and 1936 he was member of its Executive Committee and, with some interruptions, of the IKKI Presidium. As head of the IKKI Agitation and Propaganda Department, Kun promoted the extensive dissemination of Lenin's legacy abroad. At the beginning of the 1920s, as Comintern representative, he headed an international campaign of aid to the hungry in Soviet Russia; in the 1930s he headed the struggle for peace and the antifascist solidarity campaign.

#### Labor Movement and Society: Experience and Lessons

Hungary was the first country in which the working class emerged victorious after the Great October Revolution and which, coming to power, proved capable of following the example of Soviet Russia. The objective prerequisites for a proletarian revolution in Hungary were clear at that time. By the turn of the century capitalism, which had dominated all realms of social life, had entered the imperialist stage. Antagonistic contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie were intensified by the conflicts stemming from the inconsistency and incomplete nature of capitalist reorganizations: millions of landless peasants wasted away in the clutches of the huge feudal landed estates; the multinational country suffered from problems caused by its dependence on Austria, oppression of non-Hungarian ethnic groups and unsolved national problems.

The subjective conditions which were required for the working class to assume power existed in part or were in the process of formation. The proletariat had become a class, a subject of social activities in the political meaning of the term. It had organized in trade unions and in a party with its own newspaper (NEPSAVA) and a theoretical journal (SOCIALISMUS). The conscientious workers had become familiar with the foundations of Marxism and gained major combat experience. It was within their ranks, in the course of daily struggle for economic and political interests, that true revolutionary leaders developed, who rejected the servile readiness of reformist social democratic bosses to cooperate with the bourgeoisie. They developed an awareness of the fact that the bourgeois-democratic revolution of October 1918 had been unable to provide a satisfactory answer to the basic questions of the age and the grave problems of Hungarian society despite its substantial accomplishments. The question of the assumption of power by the proletariat was on the agenda.

Bela Kun and the revolutionaries who rallied around him, including former prisoners of war who had returned from Soviet Russia and members of labor organizations who had clashed with the social democratic leadership, and people with radical, democratic and bourgeois-liberal ideologies, who gravitated toward the labor movement, reached the conclusion that Leninism was not some kind of purely Russian phenomenon but a universal manual for action which could be applied in Hungary as well. Since the readiness and resolve to turn to action existed among the toiling classes, a real objective possibility appeared of the growth of the bourgeois democratic revolution, which had been halted as a result of the opposition of the bourgeoisie and the reformist attitude of a significant share of social democratic leaders and the collapse of the governmental foreign policy, into a socialist revolution.

As we pointed out, the revolutionary forces founded the Hungarian Communist Party and, at the same time as the proclamation of a Soviet Republic, communists and most social democrats rallied within a single party based on the communist platform.

The program of the new party--the Socialist Party of Hungary--meant a decisive break with the bourgeoisie landowners' regime. It critically and creatively reworked the ideas of the radical and revolutionary forces of the Hungarian progressive movement of the turn of the century, who gave priority to the struggle against the vestiges of feudalism. At the same time, the program rejected and practically refuted the theoretical reformism practiced by the majority of social democratic leaders, who claimed a proletarian revolution was impossible in Hungarian society, burdened as it were with feudal vestiges, for which reason it was only the struggle for the comprehensive uprooting of bourgeois social relations that could be put on the agenda.

Based on the specific analysis of the circumstances, the young party properly formulated its objectives concerning most problems. These objectives were revolutionary and could be accepted and supported by the working people. They provided answers to the vital problems of Hungarian society. The party proclaimed the need to destroy the exploitation of man by man and to create the main prerequisite to this effect--social ownership of the main means of production; to ensure the distribution of goods exclusively according to labor; to crush and eliminate the monopoly of the ruling classes in the field of culture; and to put an end to the poverty of millions of peasants, the sources of which were accurately seen by the communists in the existence of large feudal landed estates. However, under the influence of the former left-wing social democrats, the wrong path was chosen for the elimination of landed estates: instead of dividing the land, which would have met the age-old expectations of the peasantry, the program called for the immediate conversion to socialist economic management. The faultiness of this concept which, in the final account, weakened the worker-peasant alliance, was not corrected as it were, not in the least because it was not realized. The Soviet Republic no longer had the necessary time to do so.

V.I. Lenin ascribed international significance to the fact that the working class had come to power in Hungary relatively peacefully, which was a first such occurrence in history. He developed the idea that if favorable conditions exist, an armed uprising is not necessary in establishing a proletarian dictatorship. The domestic and foreign policy of the bourgeoisie had become bankrupt in Hungary. Social democratic reformism had become compromised and the Hungarian Communist Party had become the only active force which, under the circumstances, had formulated a realistic program for the interrelated solution of national and social problems, which had become exceptionally aggravated, thus increasingly releasing at that stage the revolutionary energy of the masses.

The efforts of the Soviet system in Hungary, aimed at the socialist reorganization of society, proved that, as Lenin said, particularly in his "Greetings to the Hungarian Workers," the nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat is not exclusively based on force but, conversely, "lies in the organized and disciplined nature of the progressive detachment of the working

people" (op. cit., vol 38, p 385). It proved that a proletarian dictatorship, as a state of a new type, serves the single objective of the socialist reorganization of society through all its actions and creative, organizational, educational and social work.

The relatively peaceful victory of the proletariat in Hungary did not mean that the bourgeoisie and its allies had reconciled themselves to the defeat. Throughout its existence, the Hungarian Soviet Republic was forced to defend itself and subsequently to wage a just war in defense of the homeland and the working class. Here as well it represented the true interests of the Hungarian nation and of the other nationalities in the country and the international cause of the proletariat.

The fact that countering the revolutionary movement which had developed throughout Europe, an international bourgeois counterrevolution organized its forces, had a decisive impact on the destinies of the Hungarian Soviet Republic and, in a broader sense, the entire Hungarian communist movement. In order to prevent the dissemination of the "Russian example" and to isolate Soviet Russia, it resorted to coordinated armed action. As the center of the counterrevolution, the Western countries, relying on their Eastern European allies and, furthermore, assigning priority precisely to them, mounted a piratical attack on the Hungarian Soviet Republic. Under those circumstances, the Hungarian proletariat was unable to receive help in repelling this attack.

The fact that the power of the working class in our country was overthrown only through gross foreign intervention was a historical proof of the accuracy of the communist belief that Hungarian society had become ripe for a proletarian revolution and that the power of the working class had sunk deep roots in the people's masses.

From the time that the Hungarian Soviet Republic was overthrown and to his very end, Bela Kun considered that the most important task in his life was the struggle against the Horthy regime and for strengthening the ranks of the Communist Party and raising ever new generations of Hungarian communists. He guided the heroic clandestine struggle waged by the Hungarian communists. Under exceptionally difficult circumstances, operating underground, the Hungarian Communist Party was able to achieve substantial progress, particularly in the mid-1920s. Thus, the Leninist theory on the agrarian problem became deeply rooted throughout the party, not least under the influence of Kun's articles. It was comprehensively acknowledged that the slogan of the division of the land is a basic premise for the worker-peasant alliance. On Kun's initiative the Socialist Workers Party of Hungary, which was the legal cover for the Hungarian Communist Party, was created on the very broad base of the working class, with the participation of communists and left-wing social democrats. A serious attempt was made to involve the best members of the intelligentsia in the work of the legal communist journal "One Hundred Percent." One after another topic collections of V.I. Lenin's works were published, prefaced by Kun: "Lenin and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Hungary," "The 'Left-Wing' Infant Disease in Communism," and "How to Structure the Party?"

The First Hungarian Communist Party Congress was held in Vienna, headed by Kun, in August 1925. Here, in addition to proclaiming the task of continuing the struggle for a proletarian dictatorship, it was pointed out that the communists were not abandoning the struggle for the implementation of bourgeois democratic demands, such as universal elections, proclamation of a republic and land reform. For many years Bela Kun worked close to Hungary, for the sake of implementing the congress' decisions, looking the danger which threatened him in the face. In 1928 he was arrested in Vienna and tried. It was then that the slogan "Hands Off the First Fighter of the Hungarian Proletariat!" was sounded from the pages of all communist and left-wing publications. From Moscow to New York and from Vienna to Paris millions of people demonstrated demanding Kun's release. Finally, under the influence of this powerful international campaign and thanks to the protest of the Soviet government, Bela Kun was released and went to the Soviet capital.

The 7th Congress of the Communist International, which took place in 1935, had a tremendous influence on the development of the Hungarian communist movement and on Bela Kun's career. In his speech at this historical congress, the 50th anniversary of which was celebrated recently, he welcomed the national front policy. He cited as an example to the Hungarian communists the flexible tactics of the French communists. Kun particularly emphasized that in the prevailing historical situation, the communists must work in trade unions headed by social democrats. They must "develop constructive revolutionary organizational activities in order to broaden their framework, with a view to involving all unorganized workers. The trade unions must be supported, developed and defended" (B. Kun, "Selected Articles and Speeches," Budapest, 1972, pp 260-261).

This speech, which was printed in a clandestine printing press, reached the Hungarian communists as well. Bela Kun addressed himself not only to the communists but to the entire antifascist camp in the country. This stance was also manifested in the most significant work of that period: "Wage Joint Struggle Against the Dictatorial Regime. Talk with Social Democratic Leaders and Workers." It included a direct appeal for antifascist liberation struggle against tyranny: "Let us unite, comrade workers and leaders of social democratic party organizations! Let us unite before it is too late! Let us unite in the common struggle for bread, jobs, freedom, land and peace, and against bankers, manufacturers, major landowners and heads of cartels. If we are united we will be followed by the entire working Hungarian people and will win the struggle" (ibid., p 326).

Bela Kun's activities combine active internationalism with patriotism, which had become deep part of him since adolescence. He considered the foreign policy of the Horthy regime alien to Hungarian national interests. However, he also rejected the diktat of the Entente. He frequently returned in his research to the idea of a federation of Danubian countries, which would exclude a policy of national oppression. Finally, with the advent of fascism to power and the intensified threat posed by Germany in Central and Eastern Europe, Kun pointed out the gap which separated the true interests of the Hungarian nation, on the one hand, and the objectives pursued by Horthy and Gombos, noted for their pro-Hitlerite views, on the other.

The subsequent activities of the Hungarian Communist Party were largely consistent with the concepts which Kun had developed in 1935-1936. The Hungarian communists remained the most consistent fighters for working class unity and a popular front, for preventing the threat of war and, subsequently, for withdrawing from the war against the Soviet Union. Bela Kun's words proved accurate: the German occupation forces and their Crossed-Arrow stooges mounted a bloody persecution not only against communists but social democrats and even bourgeois politicians. After the German occupation of the country on 19 March 1944, the communists organized the armed struggle against the Hitlerites and their Hungarian accomplices on the basis of the unification of the broadest possible social forces. However, Kun could not participate in this struggle and in the peaceful constructive efforts to build a free democratic Hungary. He died in 1939.

After the 20th CPSU Congress the Soviet Communists and the MSZMP gave a worthy and realistic assessment of Kun's outstanding activities in the Hungarian and international communist movements.

Today we consider the fuller and more profound study and comprehensive analysis of Kun's activities, based on the ideological, political and methodological viewpoints, our most important task, for they reflect major problems of development of the Hungarian and international communist movements. Mastery of his legacy is the common cause of the global workers movement.

Such experience and lessons help us to bring to light and strengthen in our minds the understanding of the origins of the socialist revolution and to work in building the new society in our country. The intensified study of Kun's revolutionary life is a mandatory prerequisite for the substantiated rebuff of the false fabrications of bourgeois propaganda which is tirelessly attacking this Hungarian internationalist and loyal Leninist with a view to discrediting the cause of socialism. It is only thus that the necessary critical answer may be given to various profoundly subjectivistic distortions of the truth.

Bela Kun's heroic life and particularly rich experience and lessons in showing the future path of the first state of workers in Hungary are a historical tradition of permanent value in the policy of the MSZMP. They help us to strengthen the international friendship between the Hungarian and Soviet peoples and are a natural source of fraternal solidarity with the working people the world over.

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## REALITIES OF THE CONTEMPORARY EPOCH

### INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 106-117

[Text] This year, by decision of the U.N. General Assembly, the largest universal forum of countries, already numbering 159 members, will be celebrated as the International Year of Peace [IYP]. This resolution is a strong manifestation of the aggravated concern and worry of the world community of countries and nations caused by the sinister threat of thermonuclear war, hanging over the planet, with inevitable fatal consequences, and the realistic understanding that in the nuclear age safeguarding peace is the prime mandatory prerequisite for the preservation of civilization and the very existence of mankind and the aspiration to do everything necessary to avoid a catastrophe.

In making this decision, the community of nations proceeded from the fact that this will be a year of active struggle for peace and serious consideration of the sacred right of the peoples to live in peace and the interrelationship between peace and social progress, security and national independence, disarmament and the prevention of nuclear catastrophe as mandatory components of universal peace, the role of international cooperation in safeguarding it and the need for a new type of political thinking in the nuclear age.

However, the purpose of holding an IYP is not merely to increase the understanding of the scale of the dangers and problems and not only considerations on means of resolving this risky situation in which mankind has found itself at the end of the 20th century by the fault of adventuristic and reactionary forces. It rests, above all, in the decisive appeal to all countries and peoples to actively defend peace and join forces in the struggle against the threat of war, for urgent and persistent action is necessary in creating a firm unbreakable universal obstacle to war for the sake of preventing a global nuclear conflagration which could turn all life into ashes. The people on earth can simply not afford apocalypse. The most objective course of historical development puts the problem of war and peace in the center of world politics.

The broad program for radical yet realistic measures aimed at the full and comprehensive elimination of nuclear weapons and other mass destruction armaments, removing the threat of death over mankind and providing reliable

security for the present and future generations, contained in the January declaration by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, ascribes particular significance and tonality to the IYP. The fact that this program has been submitted by one of the most powerful countries in our time, a country with a huge nuclear retribution potential, is of great importance. The entire world can see that during a difficult year for mankind it is precisely the Soviet Union--a great socialist power--that is showing the true way to the peaceful future of the planet, the future blossoming of civilization and fruitful cooperation and friendship among nations.

## I

Mankind has gone through many wars, big and small, short and long, in its difficult age-old history. It has been estimated that more than 14,000 wars have been fought which have taken away more than 3.6 billion human lives and brought about tremendous calamities and destructions. However, the threat of war which hangs over it today cannot be compared with previous calamities, for this is the first time that mankind faces the gravest possible problem of not only how to live in the future but, above all, how to survive.

The human mind, accustomed to dealing more immediate concepts and views, limited in terms of space and time, obviously cannot immediately realize and encompass the scope and depth of a possible planetary catastrophe. Yet, as competent specialists tirelessly repeat, a nuclear potential sufficient for the repeated destruction of anything alive on earth has been stockpiled.

This extremely dangerous and risky situation developed by the fault of imperialism, which is fiercely resisting social progress and is attempting to stop the course of history, undermine the positions of socialism and take social revenge on a global scale. Losing the peaceful competition against socialism and defeated by contemporary liberation forces in some areas, imperialism is relying on force, weapons and military blackmail as a means of retaining its positions and influence, thereby exposing human civilization to mortal risk.

The predatory militaristic aspect of militarism has been well known for quite some time. It led the nations into the bloody mire of two world wars in which 60 million people died and 110 million were disabled. It triggered a number of "small" wars and armed conflicts which have brought about severe troubles and suffering to the peoples of dozens of countries.

The earth had still not cooled off after the conflagrations of World War II that the imperialists once again began to make material preparations for a new slaughter by pioneering of the arms race, this time mainly nuclear. It was precisely in the biggest capitalist state of today--the United States--that every new type of armaments began to be developed: atom bombs, various nuclear missiles, strategic bombers, nuclear submarines, multiple warheads and neutron charges. Now the United States is already trying to go into space with mass destruction weapons.

Numerous documents have been made public, proving that in the postwar period the United States developed a number of plans for starting a nuclear war and

launching a surprise nuclear attack on the USSR and other countries. Sometimes, unable to deny these facts, people in the West answer that the United States did not implement a single one of them. This is true. However, this was not because it was guided by feelings of responsibility and humaneness but exclusively because it feared, as authoritative admissions prove, the broadest possible indignation of the peoples on earth and a most powerful political protest, including within the United States itself and, above all, a crushing retribution on the part of the Soviet Union.

In other situations, the overseas hegemonists frequently reached for their guns. It has been estimated that in no more than 30 years (1946-1976) the United States has resorted to military force or threat of force for political purposes in 226 cases; in 19 of them it even threatened to use nuclear weapons. As former U.S. President Richard Nixon told TIME Magazine in a recent interview, during his White House tenancy alone the possibility of the use of nuclear weapons was considered on four different occasions.

Prompted by ideas of American superiority, influential overseas circles are unwinding the fly-wheel of the arms race with a view to disturbing existing military-strategic parity and, thrusting themselves ahead, securing for the United States a dominant position in the world in order to dictate its conditions on the USSR and the other socialist countries and all countries pursuing an independent policy. Entire areas, many thousands of kilometers away from the American shores, are proclaimed spheres of "vital interests." The Pentagon is challengingly flexing its military muscle in various parts of the globe and the diplomacy of aircraft carriers and battleships, nuclear blackmail and threats has replaced the old "gunboat diplomacy."

Today the American imperialists are also threatening near-earth space and making plans for deploying qualitatively new types of weapons in that area. However much the people overseas are trying to conceal space programs behind assertions of the "highly humane objectives" and the aspiration to save mankind from the nuclear missile threat and to conceal the major consequences with which these plans are fraught, they shall not succeed. The implementation of such plans would turn outer space into a source of mortal danger to mankind and the cloudless blue sky would be threatened with doom. The risk of thermonuclear catastrophe would increase manifold as a consequence of a simple accident or unplanned and unsanctioned activities, such as computer error, technical malfunction or false signal. The fate of mankind and the basic question of life or death would be made directly dependent not only on the will of those aspiring to world domination but also the accuracy or lack of same of a computer.

A truly reliable security for individual countries and mankind as a whole can be achieved not through the use of the latest technologies and the creation of a computer-laser space "shield" but by taking practical steps to halt the arms race and promote disarmament by establishing stable military-strategic parity on the lowest possible level. This demands political will, sincere aspiration to reach mutually acceptable agreements and mastery of the art of living together.



Of late, particularly after the Soviet-American Geneva summit, there has been a great deal of talk in Washington on the desire to prevent war and safeguard peace. Considering the support of plans for "limited" and other nuclear wars on the part of the American military in recent years, this in itself is good. However, the extent to which such peaceful assertions will be consistent with practical actions in the international arena is being followed everywhere.

Militarism is hostile to the peoples. It is the most outstanding confirmation of the decay of the capitalist system. It is the distorted offspring of imperialism which is trying to put all achievements of science and technology above all in the service of war, and in which the very manufacturing of mass destruction weapons brings fabulous profits to industrialists and bankers.

It is indicative that it is precisely in the Western countries with powerful military machines that a variety of pseudoscientific "theories" exist, proving the "benefits" of militarism and the arms race not only to big business but, allegedly, to the entire capitalist economy. According to John Galbraith, the noted American researcher, some economists believe that the "industrial (capitalist--editor) system would be unable easily to sacrifice the gains it obtains from the arms race." Actually, precisely the opposite is true. It is precisely the militarization of the economy that has become the direct reason for the worsening of the economic crisis of capitalism.

In our time the metastasis of militarism has become deeply spread throughout the economic system of the largest imperialist countries. In the United States, for example, 25,000 contracting companies and about 100,000 subcontractors are filling the Pentagon's orders. As a rule, war production profits, guaranteed by the state, are substantially outstripping profits in civilian sectors. In our days the war business is the most profitable, the thirstiest and most voracious of its confreres. "The arms manufacturing monopolies, the general staff, the state bureaucracy, the ideological apparatus and militarized science, merging within the military-industrial complex, have become the most zealous promoters and organizers of the policy of adventurism and aggression," the draft new edition of the CPSU program stipulates.

Imperialist strategy is totally unwilling to realize the objective fact that the arms race has long become senseless, for the quantity and destructive power of stockpiled mass destruction weapons have become so great that they cannot be used without risking universal annihilation, including the self-destruction of the aggressor. One of the realities of the nuclear age is that international conflicts can no longer be resolved by resorting to nuclear war, for the outcome of such a war would produce no winner. Consequently, it cannot be a tool for achieving any political purposes whatsoever. Furthermore, the increased arms race is weakening both general international security and the security of the individual countries.

The hopes of the United States and NATO to disrupt the existing military-strategic balance and eventually, to ensure for themselves a stable superiority with the help of ever new rounds of the arms race, are illusory. The actions and the threats they create force the Soviet Union and the other

members of the socialist community to take the necessary responsive measures to maintain their own security on the proper level and prevent a violation of existing military-strategic parity, which, as reality has confirmed, objectively contributes to the preservation of peace, for it makes potential aggressors display caution and a feeling a self-preservation.

The arms race, which is continuing by the fault of imperialism and in which an increasing number of countries is becoming involved, is causing tangible harm to the national economy and the interests of all mankind, leading to the waste of manpower and of most valuable nonrecoverable natural resources. Currently, some \$800 billion are spent on military purposes annually. The total number of regular armed forces throughout the world is approximately 25 million soldiers and officers. Furthermore, another 50 to 100 million people are involved directly or indirectly in war production and army services.

Even the richest possible imagination cannot depict the entire advantages and benefits which the peoples would obtain with a halt in the arms race and the use of the thus released huge funds and scientific and technical achievements for exclusively peaceful and constructive objectives and, in particular, for solving most crucial problems, such as the indebtedness of the young independent countries, hunger, disease and illiteracy. Hundreds of millions of people on our planet are still leading a calamitous existence. Every day 15 million people in Asian, African and Latin American countries die of malnutrition, hunger and infectious diseases; 800 million people are illiterate and 1.5 billion are deprived of medical care. The Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community have repeatedly called for a reciprocal reduction in military expenditures and for using the thus released funds to help the young independent and developing countries. However, the Western countries have stubbornly rejected this initiative and are continuing to increase appropriations for militaristic purposes.

Some Western political experts believe that wars are allegedly organically inherent in human society and even contribute to its development, and that there are no particular reasons to be concerned by the aggravated international tension and the growing arms race for, they claim, the people have been experienced many things and now, for the past 40 years, they have lived under a hanging "nuclear sword" and will continue to exist the same way in the future. In other words, international relations mean a "balancing on the brink" of a nuclear missile war, in which a single incautious and erroneous move could bring about catastrophe. Mankind--a fraternal community of reason--cannot agree with such a future. It deserves a better lot and should be confident that the present and future generations will have a reliably guaranteed peaceful skies and that the prime right of every person--the right to life--will be strictly observed.

We cannot tolerate the idea that mankind, which has made a tremendous advance from the dark and smoky caves to the peaks of social progress, science and technology, is doomed to self-destruction and that in a single hour a flood of fire could sweep off all of the greatest accomplishments of the human genius and the fruits of age-old creative construction, and that by the fault of political madmen or adventurists the planet earth will become a dead body rushing in endless space.

Everything seems to indicate that the forces of imperialist reaction have no intention of amending their guidelines and that a stubborn confrontation will remain in the matter of the destinies of the world and mankind. Today, however, mankind has a tremendous potential for peace, comprehensive experience and adequate historical and social outlook to understand the results of a policy of arms race and aggression. This understanding is increasingly unifying countries which are defending the right of nations to a peaceful life and all peace-loving forces; it is energizing antiwar and antinuclear movements; it is raising in the struggle against the threat of war ever new progressive democratic detachments. The growing influence of peace and antiwar movements in international politics has become one of the most important factors of our time.

Inducing all governments to acknowledge the objective realities of the nuclear age and the scale of the threat hanging over the planet and, in the final account, forcing those who are unwilling to realize and acknowledge this to abandon the course of confrontation in international affairs and the arms race and pursue a policy of peace, peaceful coexistence and reliable security, are tasks of truly historical magnitude confronting the broadest possible political forces which oppose the nuclear madness, operating outside the confines of the socialist world.

The time has long come to look at the existing situation from the responsible positions of mankind. All peoples want to live and no one wants to perish. Therefore, it is necessary to halt the developing threatening process, terminate the arms race and undertake a process of disarmament and improvement of the situation. "...Despite differences in political and philosophical views, ideals and values, we must remember one thing: all of us are the guardians of the fire of life transmitted to us from previous generations," M.S. Gorbachev said at his meeting with the French parliamentarians. "...On the threshold of the third millennium we must burn the black book of nuclear 'alchemy.' Let the 21st Century become the first century of life without fear of universal doom."

## II

As Marxism-Leninism emphasizes, the total salvation of mankind from militarism and war is guaranteed by socialism, a social system the humanism and peacebleness of which are predetermined by its very social nature and the absence of private ownership of means of production and the exploitation of man by man. Socialism directs the forces of society toward peaceful construction, toward the creation of the necessary prerequisites for the all-round development of the individual. Under these circumstances, armed forces and defense industries are not a "profitable" but a forced activity determined by the exceptional need to protect oneself from possible imperialist aggression, bringing to benefits to anyone.

From the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, wars are not immortal. They can be eliminated from the life of human society. This would ensure the full and definitive victory of socialism on a world scale, in which, in addition to class antagonisms within nations hostile relations among them will disappear

and a new society "the international principle of which will be peace" will appear (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 17, p 5).

Anticommunists and anti-Soviets of all hues have shamelessly lied in the past and are lying today by blabbering that allegedly the communists consider war a useful matter and are trying to spread the revolution at the point of bayonets, planning to seize all countries and the entire world by force. We know the firmness and uncompromising nature with which Lenin scourged in his time the "leftist" pseudo-Marxist views of exporting revolution or urging it on from the outside through the force of arms, describing the supporters of such views as either madmen or provocateurs (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 36, p 357). "The socialists have always condemned wars among nations as barbaric and beastly," Lenin wrote, particularly emphasizing that the socialist ideal is "putting an end to wars, peace among nations and a halt to plunder and violence" (op. cit., vol 26, pp 301-304).

One of Lenin's greatest merit is the formulation of the concept of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems as a fundamental principle in international relations for a lengthy historical period, in the course of which "socialists and capitalists states will coexist side by side" (op. cit., vol 39, p 197). The circumstances of the nuclear age have multiplied the significance of the principle of peaceful coexistence, turning it from desirable or possible into necessary and even mandatory, for the harsh alternative confronts mankind: either peaceful coexistence or nuclear catastrophe and, consequently, no existence in general. In our understanding, peaceful coexistence "is not simply an absence of wars," notes the draft new edition of the CPSU program. "It is a type of international order dominated not by military power but by good neighborliness and cooperation, with a broad exchange of the achievements of science and technology and cultural values, for the benefit of all nations."

Displaying a high degree of responsibility for the fate of the world and mankind, the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community have repeatedly expressed their conviction that "no world problems, including the historical dispute between socialism and capitalism, can be resolved militarily," and that the nuclear sword cannot be a decisive argument in favor of one social system or another, for its use would leave no one to enjoy victory and to benefit from its results.

The communists are continuing persistently and consistently to encourage the confrontation between the two systems to take place exclusively in the form of peaceful competition and rivalry in various area--ideological, economic and political--without turning into a catastrophic armed clash. The answer to the question of the social system which will come out the winner will naturally be provided by the future, by the further development of social progress. It is obvious that the upper hand will be gained by the system which will be able to prove its greatest potential in resolving basic socioeconomic and global problems affecting the vital interests of all nations, of all mankind. "We shall be able to determine whose ideology and whose views and laws are more moral and whose economy is more efficient," M.S. Gorbachev said in his address on French television. "There is enough time in history for a peaceful competition between the ways of life to provide the people with the

opportunity voluntarily to make their own choice and determine the social system they prefer."

The communists in the Soviet Union are firmly convinced of the final and inevitable triumph of communism, a new social system which has clearly proved its radical advantages over capitalism. We are not afraid of further competition with capitalism in peaceful civilian areas, although we realize that such competition would be neither easy nor simple. The Soviet state systematically favors a political dialogue and cooperation with the capitalist countries and a broad development of mutually profitable trade, economic and scientific and technical and cultural relations. It is ready to strengthen such relations on a stable long-term basis. We believe that there is no argument or conflict in the world which cannot be settled politically, through talks.

Therefore, it is precisely the policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with opposite social systems and its extensive application in international relations that open real opportunities for finding a solution to the present nuclear dead end and preserving human civilization. Many realistically thinking political and social leaders in the nonsocialist countries have already achieved a clear awareness of the fact that in our nuclear age there is no acceptable alternative to peaceful coexistence and that mankind, wised by age-old experience, should develop a new global way of thinking and properly streamline international relations.

The question of the correlation between the struggle for peace and social progress under contemporary conditions arises in this connection. We know that many claims are being made in the West according to which the revolutionary and liberation movements of the nations, slanderously described as "international terrorism," and which, it is claimed, trigger acute political crises and conflicts, are the source of international tension and threat of war. Some circles frequently express the view that in order to safeguard the peace and future of mankind and for the sake of peaceful coexistence revolutionary liberation movements should make significant concessions. They should abandon their struggle or at least limit themselves to exclusively reformist actions.

However, peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems does not mean in the least the retention of sociopolitical conditions in the nonsocialist part of the world. The rotten reactionary order rejected by the peoples themselves should not rely on anyone's "safe-conduct." The real sources of threat to peace are not the liberation movements of the peoples but the obsolete exploiting classes, social strata and dictatorial regimes which, for the sake of prolonging their existence and protecting their profits and privileges, take up arms and engage in bloody terror and repressions to prevent the victory of liberation forces. It is precisely the unwillingness of the most reactionary imperialist circles to acknowledge that all states and peoples have the legitimate right to sovereignty and independence and to a free determination of the ways of their development, and the efforts to impose upon them their will by force and to reorganize the contemporary to their liking that create the main threat to mankind.

Naturally, the communists and all revolutionaries are highly interested in preserving the peace and in having mankind avoid the monstrous catastrophe, for in the opposite case all of their activities and their struggle for the freedom and the independence of the peoples, for the social organization of society and for the happiness of the working people would lose all meaning. They clearly realize the entire extent of their responsibility for the survival of mankind and this awareness has been vividly manifested in the fact that the international communist movement considers safeguarding peace its primary duty. However, the active and decisive defense of peace does not conflict with the struggle for social progress. The social progress of mankind is unstoppable. It is an objective irreversible historical process which, naturally, has nothing in common with the threadbare fabrications of bourgeois propaganda concerning the "hand of Moscow," "communist conspiracy," etc. The just and noble struggle waged by the peoples for their liberation is continuing and will inevitably continue and it is impossible to make them reconcile themselves with foreign oppression of despotic internal reaction.

Today's world is a many-faceted sum of sovereign countries and nations with their own interests and aspirations, politics, traditions and dreams. Every nation has the right to life under conditions of peace and freedom, national independence and social progress. That is why, in resolving the most crucial global problem of how to survive and in defending the right of people live, progressive mankind keeps thinking of how to live in the future. It is impossible to forbid the people to dream of happiness and aspire to it.

The extraordinary situation which has developed in the world demands that the political thinking and practical actions of the governments of all countries, the great powers in particular, be imbued with a feeling of tremendous responsibility to their own peoples and to all mankind. "Mankind," M.S. Gorbachev pointed out, "has now reached a level which requires particular wisdom in decision making, weighing and restraint in actions and consideration not only of national interests but the interests of the entire global community."

### III

Responsible political thinking in the present nuclear age presumes not only a clear awareness of the extent of the danger and the catastrophic consequences of thermonuclear war, and not only an understanding of the need to do everything possible to prevent it but, above all, political will and specific practical actions and honest readiness to talk and reach agreements based on equality and identical security. It is precisely such a responsible approach that is invariably displayed by the CPSU and the Soviet state and the other members of the socialist community.

As we know, for many years, sparing no efforts and funds, the spokesmen for a "crusade" and "psychological warfare" have tried to confuse the international public with fabrications about the "Soviet military threat" and the expansionism of the Soviet Union. Actually, our country has never attacked or seized foreign land. However, it has frequently had to repel aggression. From the very first days of the existence of the Soviet system, the struggle for peace and for rescuing the peoples from wars and from the ruinous growth

of armaments has been the prime objective of our homeland's foreign policy, the policy of a great socialist state which has persistently strived for this throughout its history. Half a century ago the Soviet Union did everything within its power to defeat the plans of the instigators of World War II and it was not its fault that it was unable to prevent it. The fact that for more than 40 years mankind has been spared the horrors of a global slaughter is due to the tremendous role which the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries have played and continue to play and their decisive struggle against the threat of nuclear catastrophe and for life and the preservation of mankind's civilization and future.

Let us recall that as early 1946, soon after the appearance of nuclear weapons, our country suggested concluding a convention on their total banning. However, the United States blocked the implementation of this initiative. In 1949 the USSR appealed to the other great powers to join efforts in preventing the threat of nuclear war and conclude a peace pact. The practical answer of the Western powers was the "cold war" which poisoned the international atmosphere for many years.

Nevertheless, Soviet diplomacy did not stop increasing its efforts which were not wasted. Even many foes of the Soviet Union are forced to acknowledge its exclusive contribution to improving the international situation and to the process of detente between the end of the 1960s and beginning of 1970s. At that time a number of important international agreements were initialed, which practically confirmed that given a desire, good will and a constructive practical approach, the countries can find mutually acceptable solutions even to difficult and crucial problems, such as limiting the expansion of armaments and disarmament.

Under the conditions of the situation which drastically worsened by the fault of the imperialist U.S. circles between the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s, the Soviet Union persistently continued its efforts to eliminate the threat of war, halt the slide toward the precipice of nuclear catastrophe, proving in fact that it threatens no one, does not wish a confrontation with any country, West or East, has not aspired and is not aspiring toward military superiority and has not been and will not be the initiator of new rounds in the arms race. There is no type of weapon which our country would not agree to limit or ban on a reciprocal basis.

In calling upon other nations and states to do everything possible to prevent the arms race in space and end it on earth and to limit, reduce and, subsequently, totally eliminate nuclear weapons, the Soviet Union has formulated entirely specific suggestions and itself taken practical steps. Over the last 5 years alone our country has formulated more than 80 different initiatives on the most important problems of safeguarding peace and strengthening international security.

The major unilateral actions carried out by the Soviet Union in recent years, as a good example in initiating the halt of any further development of the nuclear armament race and material preparations for war, met with a broad response throughout the world. The obligation assumed by our country not to be the first to use nuclear weapons, which was taken in 1982, was a noteworthy

event in international life. Had all other nuclear powers acted in the same manner, generally this would have meant abandoning the use of such weapons. One year later the Soviet government announced that it would abstain from putting antisatellite weapons in outer space as long as other countries did the same.

Together with the other fraternal socialist countries, the Soviet Union is persistently striving to make Europe a continent of lasting peace and security for all countries and nations. In particular, it has suggested that the European countries totally clear their territories from medium-range and tactical nuclear weapons and all types of chemical weapons; it has favored the creation of nuclear-free zones in various areas and the stabilization and reduction of military expenditures. An agreement on reciprocal nonuse of military force and of maintaining relations of peace between the Warsaw Pact and NATO would greatly contribute to lowering the tension. With a view to improving the international situation in Asia, our country formulated the important suggestion of drafting a collective and comprehensive approach to security in Asia, with the participation of the interested countries, the essence of which would be to unify the efforts of all Asian countries regardless of social system for the sake of safeguarding peace and stability.

The April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which appealed for doing everything possible for the forces of militarism not to prevail and which emphasized the urgency of halting the arms race and the need to develop equal, correct and civilized intergovernmental relations, gave a new dynamism to Soviet foreign policy. In launching its broad peaceful offensive, the Soviet Union formulated a vast constructive program for taking decisive measures to halt the arms race and improve the overall international situation and reduce the risk of global catastrophe to a minimum. Our country calls for shutting tight the gate leading to the deployment of weapons in space. It calls for taking a radical step toward limiting nuclear armaments by reducing by one-half the nuclear weapons of the USSR and the United States, turning back the stockpiling of nuclear missiles in Europe and ending nuclear weapon tests.

We are proposing to the entire world, including the capitalist states, a broad long-term program for comprehensive mutually profitable cooperation, which would take into consideration the new opportunities offered to mankind by the age of the scientific and technical revolution. Our country actively supports fruitful international cooperation in the peaceful utilization of outer space without its militarization.

The Geneva meeting between the heads of the USSR and the United States, which became a major political event in international life, has assumed an important role in the persistent efforts made by the Soviet Union in support of peace. The results of the meeting were welcomed in the world with an understandable feeling of relief and hope. The stipulation that nuclear war must never be unleashed and that it would have no winner, included in the joint declaration, drew particular attention. Another essential agreement was that of energizing Soviet-American talks on preventing the arms race in space and halting it on earth. Naturally, the true significance of all the useful features agreed upon in Geneva and the extent of their positive influence on changes in international relations and reducing the threat of nuclear war will be



manifested only gradually, in the specific actions taken both by the USSR and the United States. For itself, the Soviet Union emphasized in the USSR Supreme Soviet decree that "it will do everything it can to implement these agreements through practical actions."

The peace initiative of historical significance, addressed to the nuclear powers and all governments and peoples of the world, contained in M.S. Gorbachev's declaration, was the most outstanding confirmation of the deep humanism of Soviet foreign policy and the high feeling of responsibility displayed by the CPSU not only for the fate of the peoples in its own country but for the future of all mankind as well. The Soviet Union suggested that over the next 15 years a radical program be implemented for the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world, weapons which create a mortal threat to the all life on earth, while at the same time banning the creation of offensive space weapons. We also suggested the complete elimination of chemical weapons this very century, and banning the development of other types of mass destruction weapons.

The extensive set of new Soviet foreign policy initiatives is consistent with the basic interests and expectations of all nations and their aspiration to live and work under peaceful skies, without fear of nuclear, chemical or any other threat of annihilation, firmly confident of their own future and of the survival of civilization on earth. That is why these suggestions triggered the broadest possible international response, leaving absolutely no one indifferent. They are approved and supported by anyone who cares for peace and realizes the extent of the threat hanging over mankind. The new broad Soviet initiatives are a specific and substantial contribution of the IYP. the

To the Soviet Union the struggle against the threat of war and for peace and reciprocal understanding among nations is not some kind of "propaganda trick" or "temporary tactical maneuver," as bourgeois propaganda claims. It is a principle-minded and consistent course codified in our constitution, which emphasizes that "the USSR is steadfastly pursuing a Leninist policy of peace and promoting the strengthened security of nations and broad international cooperation."

From personal experience the Soviet people are all too well aware of what war is. They highly value and appreciate peace. Last year's celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the victory over Hitlerite fascism developed into a vivid and impressive demonstration of the inflexible desire of the Soviet people for peace. The main lesson of the victory is that one must struggle decisively and persistently against war before it has broken out.

Scenarios of nuclear battles over the earth and monstrous "star wars" plans are being drawn up by imperialist reaction, criminally gambling with the destinies of all mankind. On the eve of the 27th CPSU Congress, the Soviet Union as well is developing and heatedly discussing long-term plans which, however, are of an essentially different nature. These are large-scale and long-term plans for accelerating the socioeconomic development of our socialist homeland, plans for creative construction and well-being and spiritual growth of the Soviet people. The very scope of the economic plans of the USSR, the Japanese newspaper ASAHI pointed out, "proves the peaceful moods of this

socialist giant. Moscow needs detente and a dialogue for the implementation of its plans of the epoch."

The international policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state is based on the humane nature of socialist society. It is inseparably related to the basic and strategic tasks of the party within the country and expresses the uniform aspiration of the Soviet people of engaging in constructive toil and living in peace with all nations, for which reason it meets with the complete understanding of the masses. Most importantly, the Soviet people not only approve of this policy but support it through their toil and accomplishments for the good of the homeland. The more powerful and richer our socialist state becomes the more significant will be its contribution to the cause of universal peace and the progress of mankind.

Various Western "prophets" claim that "big wars" are inevitable, earmarking it possible deadlines and insinuating that with every passing year mankind is increasingly coming closer to a nuclear Armageddon. Our views are different: by realistically and soberly assessing the scale of the threats to mankind, the CPSU, the Soviet government and all Soviet people reject the concept of the fatal inevitability of nuclear catastrophe. We are convinced that with every passing year we are not coming closer to war but distancing ourselves from it. "The CPSU," the new draft party program emphasizes, "proceeds from the fact that however great the threat to peace may be, created by the policy of aggressive imperialist circles, a world war is not fatally inevitable. War can be prevented and mankind can be protected from catastrophe. This is the historical vocation of socialism and of all progressive and peace-loving forces on our planet." Defending and strengthening peace, curbing the forces of aggression and militarism and securing the supreme right of the peoples, the right to peaceful life and independent and free development, is the loftiest and most responsible mission. However, as long experience indicates, this is no easy matter. It demands ever new efforts, activeness and coordinated actions among all those who care for the life of present and future generations.

The IYP is a major event, an important political action. Nevertheless, it is merely one year, 365 days, a moment in history. The Soviet people favor every year to be a true year of peace and for mankind to be rescued once and for all from wars and threats of war. A world without weapons, a world without wars! In our conviction, this is not utopia but, in the final account, a really attainable objective.

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FROM POSITIONS OF GOOD WILL AND HISTORICAL RESPONSIBILITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) p 118

[Article by Academician N. Blokhin, president, USSR AMN]

[Text] "...We propose that we enter the third millenium without nuclear weapons, on the basis of mutually acceptable and strictly verifiable agreements."

These words in the declaration of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, sounded like a decisive call addressed to the entire planet.

In the age of the greatest discovery of our century, nuclear energy, imperialism has generated the terrible idea of a new lethal means of war.

As early as in the 1920s, anticipating that in the immediate future man will become able to harness nuclear energy, the great Soviet scientist V.I. Vernadskiy concernedly asked:

"Will man be able to make use of this force and direct it toward good and not toward self-destruction?"

"Has man reached the ability to make use of this force which science is inevitably going to offer him?"

At the end of World War II mankind witnessed the barbaric and totally unjustified nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Conducted by the United States, they actually were a monstrous experiment on people, and it was then and there that the insane plans for the lightning destruction of cities and even entire countries began to take shape, and attempts were made to blackmail with such plans the peoples which had taken the path of socialism.

Many years have passed since. The consequences of the use of nuclear weapons were studied comprehensively. It became clear that those who initiate their use would find themselves in no better condition than those they threaten. The ideologues of extreme aggressive circles began to realize that under contemporary conditions nuclear weapons are unsuitable in waging war and that

it was impossible not only to dominate the world but, in general, to achieve any kind of victory with their help.

"The 20th century gave mankind the gift of the energy of the atom. This great conquest of the mind, however, could become a self-destruction weapon for mankind," the declaration of the CPSU Central Committee general secretary justifiably notes.

It is senseless to think that the stockpiles of latest weapons can play any role in future policy. They already suffice to annihilate all life on earth several times over.

Computations have indicated that a nuclear war would turn the "cradle of mankind" into an uninhabitable planet.

The peoples of the world are in a state of alarm. Spontaneous antiwar demonstrations in all countries express the growing concern of various population strata at the senseless policy of "hawk" followers and indignation at their irresponsibility concerning topical social problems, the contradictoriness of which is continuing to worsen by the continuing arms race. Huge funds are being spent in this race, taken away from education, health care and the struggle against hunger and disease. The cost of a single nuclear submarine would pay for the total elimination of several severe infectious diseases in the developing countries and a drastic lowering of infant mortality caused by hunger.

The position of the leadership of the Communist Party and the Soviet government is entirely clear: Immediately initiate the reduction of nuclear armaments, carriers as well as warheads, until they have been totally eliminated and, subsequently, ensure reliable control which would guarantee mankind's tranquility.

What unprejudiced person on earth could object to such a proposal?

Its adoption would benefit absolutely everyone. It is only those blinded by madness who are unable to understand this.

The new suggestions formulated by the Soviet Union are a specific program aimed at the total liberation of the earth from nuclear weapons by the year 2000. Mankind should enter the third millenium free from nuclear weapons, on the basis of mutually acceptable and strictly verifiable agreements concluded among the nuclear powers.

This is a political document of unrivaled significance. Historians will rate it as the most important landmark on the way to achieving a lasting peace during a difficult period of great danger threatening all mankind.

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## NOT TO SHIFT THE BURDEN TO POSTERITY

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) p 119

[Article by Ales Adamovich]

[Text] A future without wars and weapons... The great humanists of the past, from Erasmus (and even before him) to Emmanuel Kant and Leo Tolstoy could conceive of such a future but only in the distant future. According to Kant, "eternal peace" was a "masterpiece of the mind," but a dream nevertheless.

"An end to wars, peace among nations, a halt to plunder and violence:" these words of V.I. Lenin, the theoretician and practitioner of the socialist revolution, echoes the age-old expectations of the best minds of mankind.

And so, on behalf of the socialist countries an appeal containing an entirely specific and clear program was addressed to peoples and nations: make a reality of the greatest dream of all previous generations within 15 years, by the turn of the 21st century. What even the most perspicacious among us could see only through the fog of the future was broken down into 5-year periods, years and even days ("resume trilateral talks...without delay, this very month"). Striking. Yes, mankind has no time to spare, we are counting the months and the days. All speeches and press conferences of M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, are imbued with a feeling of high responsibility for saving the world from catastrophe without losing time.

Nothing could be more urgent and crucial than the implementation of the age-old human dream of universal peace among nations. In this matter no one can stand aside: states, political parties, social organizations or private citizens.

It is noteworthy that in M.S. Gorbachev's January declaration and our country's appeal to mankind the emphasis was on the force of example (the Soviet extension of its moratorium on nuclear weapon tests), emphasizing the absurdity and impermissibility in terms of modern civilization of the aspirations of some politicians to "outwit or beat the other side." For under the conditions of the nuclear age that which you are preparing for your opponent will inevitably fall on your own people, on your own country.

Last year I accidentally got into a conversation with American tourists. Their questions were simple and artless: "Have you visited America, did you like America?" "I liked many things there," I answered. "What didn't you like?" they asked quite puzzled. "I didn't like the way in which you are taught how to look at us, by the movies, television and the yellow press. Conversely, we even view you, Americans, in a somewhat romantic light and no one tries to block the impact which good, truly high-quality American literature has on us. Your books are being reprinted in our country in millions of copies. And what about in your country?" They agreed, but jointly protested, saying that they were used to ignoring their own propaganda.

I am convinced that no means of communication can counter the ill will of those who are trying to promote quarrels among nations by depicting the "enemy" as more frightening than a "nuclear winter" better than television can. Television has already proved its possibilities in practice. Particularly successful are telecasts whose authors have been able to reach the individual, the masses of people, touching their hearts' strings, thus unavoidably raising a natural feeling of protest: Is it on such people that bombs will be dropped? And it is with these people that we are being frightened?!

The most important thing is to accept the conditions, ways of existence and the life of neighboring countries with respect and without prejudice. The variety of genetic stock in nature and the national variety of humankind are a sign of and condition for the durability of biological and cultural life itself. Therefore, would it not be better to agree that in everything else as well it would be better to be different in life than the same in death?

Everything, everything must be harnessed: arguments, patience and restraint, in order not to miss any opportunity or time which, I repeat, is already running short. Let us not shift the terrible burden of the nuclear threat to the next generation which, naturally will find it even more difficult should man-killing technology continue to develop even further.

We would so much like to believe that our partners, our allies in the effort to survive and not perish and kill life on the planet, will respond and not let obstructions arise because of prestige as to who suggested what or when. All of this is insignificant compared to preserving the main value: peace, a safe future. As to how each nation will organize its life, let it decide for itself, without outside pressure and diktat.

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## SED ON THE ROAD TO ITS 11TH CONGRESS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 86 (signed to press 11 Feb 86) pp 120-125

[Article by Egon Krenz, SED Central Committee Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary]

[Text] The 11th SED Congress, which will be held from 17 to 21 April 1986 in Berlin, will discuss and adopt tasks relative to the further establishment of a developed socialist society in the GDR. "Our people," Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary emphasized, "expect that our party will defend the right of our society to life under conditions of peace and freedom, on the basis of socialist production relations, as thoroughly and decisively as we have done in the past."

The SED proceeds from the need to develop all advantages and motive forces of socialism, all aspects of social life, production forces, production, social and political relations, science and education, socialist ideology and culture, the totality of working and living conditions and the country's defense capability, starting from the level already achieved and enhancing them further. Therefore, we are steadfastly following the path earmarked 15 years ago at the 8th Party Congress, which calls for increasingly developing the purpose of socialism, which means doing everything for the good of the people.

This course brought to our people stable achievements which are possible only on the basis of the power of the working class led by its combat Marxist-Leninist party. No single German state has ever had such a program aimed at the good of the people and at strengthening peace, the type of social program in which housing construction and education hold a leading position, as has the German Democratic Republic. We can say with full justification that a new quality of life has developed. The citizens in our country are guided in their thoughts and actions by socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

The forthcoming 9th SED Congress will become the culminating point not only in the life of the party but of the entire country. This is confirmed by the nationwide creative discussion of the main problems of domestic and foreign policy and the concern shown by the toiling masses for the comprehensive

strengthening of our worker-peasant system. It is precisely this that determines today the political atmosphere in town and country. The high labor accomplishments and optimism of the people are a practical confirmation of the vitality of the scientific strategy of social development included in the SED program.

The dialectical unity of the constructive and peaceable policy, political stability, economic dynamism and social confidence have created relations of solid trust between the party and the people, closer than ever before. This is one of the most valuable achievements of socialism on German soil, which strengthen in us confidence that the future sometimes difficult problems which life poses for us will be resolved. This confirms the accuracy of Lenin's stipulation that millions of people will not follow the party's advice "unless such advice coincides with what they have learned from personal experience" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 32, p 178).

The publication of the overall results of individual talks held with all party members, which were carried by the mass information media in the GDR, the study of the proceedings and results of the accountability and election campaign in primary and rayon party organizations and data on changes in the size and composition of the party indicate the degree of openness and concreteness with which the party discusses its activities with the people. This shows with particular clarity the firmness of our Marxist-Leninist combat alliance and its full consistency with the statement in the "Communist Party Manifesto:" "The communists consider it despicable to conceal their views and intentions" (K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 4, p 459).

#### In Close Friendship with Lenin's Party and Country

The GDR, which is at the crossroads between the two opposite social systems in the center of Europe, an inseparable component of the socialist community and a reliable member of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, is strictly implementing its assignments on strengthening socialism. The SED is guided by the common laws of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, creatively applying them under the specific historical conditions of our country. Inviolable friendship and cooperation with the CPSU and the Soviet people were, are and will remain the sources of strength and the foundation for the development of our socialist fatherland.

This was confirmed by the meeting between comrades Erich Honecker and M.S. Gorbachev, which took place during the celebrations of the 40th anniversary of the victory over fascism. During those ceremonies a memorial museum to German antifascists was inaugurated in Krasnogorsk and the cornerstone was laid for a monument to Ernst Thaelman in Moscow. The leaders of the CPSU and the SED proclaimed their resolve to continue to improve relations between our Marxist-Leninist parties, states and peoples. They agreed on comprehensively broadening of cooperation, above all in the main areas of scientific and technical progress for the sake of the mutual benefit of our states. As in the past, the future prospects for interaction clearly prove the historical scale of our fraternal alliance. The spirit of this meeting guides the preparations for the 11th SED Congress.



The fraternal alliance between the CPSU and the SED, and the USSR and the GDR stems from the revolutionary traditions of our parties and peoples. To the best sons and daughters of the German people this has always been a class alliance, an alliance based on shared convictions and objectives. The legacy of Ernst Thaelman lives within the SED; the attitude toward the Soviet Union is the testing stone of every revolutionary.

The solid foundations of this alliance are the Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid Treaty between the GDR and the USSR. Its effect goes beyond the present millennium and opens unparalleled scope for the development of interaction between the two countries. This is clearly confirmed by the agreement on cooperation in the areas of science, technology and production for the period until the year 2000. The constructive peaceful policy of the USSR and the coordinated foreign policy line of the members of the socialist community create important prerequisites for the GDR honorably to fulfill its obligation to do everything possible so that never again could war break out on German soil. All of this explains the great interest and feeling of great involvement with which the party members and the entire people in the GDR are awaiting the 27th CPSU Congress.

The creative initiative of the working people and the resolve of every one of them to achieve maximal results at his job for strengthening socialism were given a powerful impetus by the Soviet program for the liberation of mankind from nuclear weapons, suggested by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary. The citizens of our country obtained fast and complete information on the new Soviet initiative in the field of disarmament. In a special television program in the GDR, the 15 January 1986 declaration by M.S. Gorbachev, which was of truly universal significance, was telecast on two channels. It was relayed from the Moscow television studio in Russian, with a simultaneous German synchronized translation and immediately became the center of attention at party conferences and in the entire preparations for the 11th Party Congress. It has remained the main topic in broad nationwide discussions.

The people understand that the nations have been given a realistic program for hope. With its help the present generation will be able to secure peace for all times for themselves, their children and grandchildren and future generations. Once again, this document proves to everyone in the nuclear age that the voice of the USSR is a voice of peace, reason and goodwill.

Together with the Soviet Union, through its peaceful policy, the German state is making a contribution to improving the international situation. The appeal, the relevance of which was reemphasized by Erich Honecker after the Geneva summit, calling for stressing more than ever before all our efforts for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe and halting the arms race on earth and preventing its spreading into space, became the leitmotif of social activities of the GDR working people. The three-step program formulated by the Soviet Union increased the understanding of the fact that in the fraternal community of socialist countries the Soviet Union is a political and material force which can protect the peoples on earth from nuclear catastrophe.

## The Stronger Socialism Becomes, the More Durable is Peace

The economic strategy which was adopted at our 10th Party Congress proved its practical value. The socialist planned economy strengthened. Ranks of skilled workers, engineers and scientists developed. The level of planning, management and cost accounting was enhanced. The course toward the implementation of the party's main tasks, combined with its economic and social policy, in mobilizing millions of working people, motivating them to answer the new requirements with higher accomplishments. The working people see for themselves that good work is yielding real returns.

The combines have become the backbone of our economy. They are the foundation of the GDR's can successfully struggle for reaching the highest world standard in a number of important sectors. Today the picture of economic development is characterized not by isolated attempts but by a conversion to the extensive utilization of most advanced equipment. Key technologies, such as microelectronics, computers, which are developing on its basis, engineering, designing and preparing for and managing the production process with the help of computers, flexible automated production systems and new processing technologies, new materials and biotechnology are providing an impetus for an unparalleled enhancement of labor productivity. This is an increasingly clear manifestation of the full development of production forces, which is a basic socialist feature.

The scientific and technical revolution is a decisive tool for broadening the material and technical foundations of the GDR and a guarantee for stable economic growth and high social labor productivity and efficiency. One of the most important results achieved after the 10th Congress is the fact that in the last 5-year period we were able to make a radical change toward the broad intensification of the national economy.

In 1985 the working people in our country achieved their highest accomplishments, thus contributing to the further strengthening of socialism. The national income increased by 4.8 percent. Nine-tenths of this growth was the result of higher labor productivity. The fact that the increased output and labor productivity were obtained with reduced outlays of energy and materials and through the better utilization of fixed capital is particularly important.

Although the 1986 plan is stressed and its targets are high, the collective of the Karl Zeiss Combine pledged to produce additional goods equaling one day's volume of output during the first quarter, in honor of the 11th SED Congress. This example was followed by the working people in other sectors. They are trying to turn the best indicators into their daily norm. They face the task of making intensification a comprehensive and stable process. Socialist economic integration, in the intensification of which the GDR is making a substantial contribution, plays a significant role in this area.

Communal policy is of increasing significance in the successful development of the GDR. The new law on local people's representative bodies creates more favorable conditions for combining centralized management and planning with local initiative. This is a fuller embodiment of the Leninist principle of

democratic centralism. To us it is the base for structuring, interaction and functioning of all state power bodies.

Upgrading the responsibility and prestige of the deputies is closely related to this. Furthermore, an increasing number of citizens are becoming involved in the discussion and implementation of national tasks. The social recognition of the activities of city and municipal mayors and the attention which our party pays to them have increased tangibly. The mayors are important representatives within the system of relations between the state and its citizens.

As developed socialist society continues to take shape, it is becoming increasingly clear that conscientious, honest and socially useful labor is the core of the socialist way of life. This concept is based on the new production method and presumes the steady enhancement of the material and cultural living standards of the people. Therefore, the education and upbringing of the people is aimed at the comprehensive development of the individual. The significance of the unified educational system increases in the course of this process. One can even say that it is becoming the main source for the successful political and economic development of the GDR.

Today 4.6 of the 8.9 million GDR working people are graduates of 10th-grade general-education polytechnical schools, and 85 percent of all working people have full vocational technical training. By the end of the 1980s a new school curriculum will be drafted for secondary 10th-grade schools which will take into consideration the development of practical experience in learning and the latest scientific achievements. New curriculums are being drafted for the training of skilled workers in 317 professions. They will be applied by 1990. The target is to be on the level of the great requirements formulated by the task of increasingly combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism.

The creative person is the main wealth of the socialist society. Our party believes that "Even in the age of computers man with his toil and capabilities and, let us not forget, his needs, remains in the center of everything."

Machine productivity is always predetermined by human creativity. No single machine has social experience or is able to assume the burden of responsibility to society. Man remains the main productive force, for which reason the attention of our party in all areas of social life is focused on him.

The young generation in the GDR is making an outstanding contribution to its development. The Leninist concept according to which the active participation of young people in labor and practical struggle is a reliable way for its revolutionary upbringing is confirmed every single day. In a true Leninist spirit, the Union of Free German Youth is proving itself the assault detachment of new developments, "assisting in all projects and displaying its initiative and enterprise" (op. cit., vol 41, p 316). Our party assigns high responsibility to our youth and trusts it.

Supporting the young and making demands on them have never been a matter of subjective considerations for the SED. They have always had an objective base and have been like a "capital investment" in the socialist future. Could the revolutionary reorganization of society we have carried out as communists be successful without the energy of young people and without thoroughly training them for future activities? The particular creative restlessness inherent in youth and its natural aspiration toward the new, revolutionary impatience and readiness to follow unknown paths for the good of society are society's wealth on which our party relies.

Today the higher spiritual and moral demands of the young generation are related to the growth of the educational standard of young people and their enhanced labor activeness. Furthermore, those who are willing to accept the revolutionary legacy of their fathers and mothers with a full awareness of their responsibility cannot fail to formulate strict requirements toward themselves in order to achieve success through their own efforts, on the firm foundation of what has already been accomplished. All of this demands of the party workers, parents, educators, teachers, foremen, instructors and coaches and personnel in the state apparatus and military instructors to go forth, to inspire with their example, to develop in the young people a communist understanding of life. Particularly necessary concerning the growing generation, as Lenin emphasized, is propaganda through example (see op. cit., vol 42, p 46). That is why we consider the constant dialogue between the party and the young people a major prerequisite in shaping the capabilities and readiness of the young generation to resolve the major problems raised by the building of socialism.

#### The Party Is Where the Communists Are

The creative application of Marxism-Leninism is at the base of SED activities. Its ability for a realistic analysis and for drawing prompt and accurate conclusions and its skill in preparing politically and professionally the working people for new requirements and to mobilize them for the joint solution of problems have become the firm foundation for successful progress in the GDR. The latest accountability and election campaign proved yet once again that the strict requirement of "the party is where the communists are" is implemented most consistently wherever a close tie exists between the party and daily life, where an atmosphere of high exigency and trust exists, where the opinion of every party member is taken into consideration and where the party member has the possibility to obtain an answer from the party collective on all problems affecting him. The 10th SED Congress noted that "All party activities....are imbued with the aspiration to do everything possible for the good and happiness of the people. The party, which sets the example, must purposefully and confidently lead the millions of builders of the new society. This is the meaning of the struggle and life of the party members."

Our party is advancing toward its 11th Congress aware that by strengthening the first socialist worker and peasant government on German soil it is contributing to the overall cause of socialism for the sake of our communist future. The SED throws its full support behind the words of comrade M.S. Gorbachev: "The first order of the party and state is to protect and comprehensively strengthen the fraternal friendship with our closest fellow

workers and allies--the members of the great socialist community." The SED has directed and will continue to direct all of its creative efforts toward this. The 27th CPSU Congress will give us new impetus in our joint efforts for the good of the peoples. It will greatly influence the course of international events. Shoulder to shoulder with the first socialist country in the world, and with fraternal ties and creative partnership with the USSR we are advancing along the path of construction and peace.

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## BOOK REVIEWS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

### SOVIET DIPLOMACY DURING THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

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[Review by Academician I. Mints of the book "Na Puti k Velikoy Pobede" [On the Road to the Great Victory]. Soviet diplomacy in 1941-1945. By V.Ya. Sipols. Moscow, 1985, 495 pages]

[Text] Last year the Soviet people celebrated as a great bright holiday the 40th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War. This war was the harshest possible test of the viability of the first socialist state in the world and the Soviet people withstood this trial with honor. Fighting virtually alone, they were able to stop and, subsequently, to defeat the military machine of imperialist fascist Germany, monstrous in scale and power. The decisive events of the war took place directly in the fierce battles waged by million-strong armies on both sides. The weapons for the great victory won by the Soviet armed forces were hammered out with the dedicated efforts of millions of Soviet working people in the rear. Soviet diplomacy as well made its contribution to the victory and to ensuring a just postwar settlement. This is the theme of the book under review.

The question which arises above all is that of the specific international situation in which the Great Patriotic War was being waged. Dreaming of the destruction of the land of the soviets, the reactionary forces of the capitalist countries nurtured the hope of putting the country in a situation of total international isolation and have all imperialist powers strike at it together. This, however, did not happen. Why?

Bearing in mind the strength and power of the rapidly maturing Soviet state, fascist Germany started its armed struggle for domination on the European continent and throughout the world not by attacking it but by routing Poland, France and a number of other countries. Therefore, the war began within the capitalist system, between two groups of imperialist countries. Later, in 1941, when the German-fascist aggressors attacked the USSR, by the nature of the very development of events the USSR found itself on the same side as Great Britain and other countries which were already in a state of war against the fascist-militaristic bloc.

However, is it possible, therefore, that the anti-Hitlerite coalition actually developed as spontaneously, as the objective, the inevitable result of the development of events? Actually, some objective prerequisites for the establishment of such a coalition did exist. However, Soviet diplomacy had to display tremendous efforts to turn such a possibility into reality.

This was an exceptionally complex and difficult task. The author of this work describes the tense and occasionally very dramatic activities of Soviet diplomacy aimed at the successful solution of this problem.

The book is written in a sharp political style. The most valuable sources for a consideration of the activities of Soviet diplomacy, on which the book is based, are publications of Soviet foreign policy documents of the war years. In his critical analysis of U.S. and British policy, the author has made extensive use of foreign documentary publications. He provides a great deal of new and interesting facts in the interpretation of the events on the basis of his study of British government wartime archives. Some interesting questions are discussed essentially for the first time and a great deal of essential clarifications are made in the interpretation of many others.

The deeply historical nature of the book comes from the author's description of the process of changes in the nature of relations between the USSR, on the one hand, and the United States and Great Britain, on the other, as a result of the changes which occurred in the course of military operations at the fronts, above all in the main--Soviet-German--front.

Since the USSR, Great Britain and the United States faced dangerous common enemies, the Communist Party and Soviet government deemed desirable that extensive military, political, economic and other cooperation be established among the three powers, naturally on an equal footing. The British and U.S. governments had other ideas. They looked upon the USSR in an entirely different light, on the basis of their imperialist positions. London and Washington were pleased by the fact that through its stubborn defensive battles the Soviet Union was undermining the strength of fascist Germany. As the author clearly proves, in the first weeks of the war the British and American leaders believed that the USSR was in a state of mortal agony. At that time, British and U.S. readiness to cooperate with the Soviet Union was reduced actually to their verbal or, as they said, moral support of the USSR in order to prolong this "agony," i.e., the opposition to the aggressor, as much as possible.

Sipols clearly shows the way the views held by London and Washington began to change as the Soviet Union was increasingly resisting the aggressor. The conclusion of the Soviet-British treaty of alliance in the war against Hitlerite Germany and its accomplices in Europe and cooperation and mutual aid after the war of 26 May 1942 was a major Soviet diplomatic success. A corresponding Soviet-American lend-lease agreement was concluded soon afterwards, on 11 June. This completed the contractual establishment of the war coalition among the USSR, the United States and Great Britain.

However, as the author indicates, the significance of such agreements was not to be overestimated. Having arrived at the conclusion that the USSR would not

collapse in 1942 as well, the British and American governments deemed premature to hasten with opening a second front in Europe and continued to allow the main burden of the struggle against the German-fascist aggressors to be borne by the Soviet Union. Furthermore, after halting the maritime convoys with military materiel in the summer of 1942, the United States and Great Britain sharply curtailed their deliveries in the summer and autumn months of that year, which was an extremely difficult period for the USSR.

After the battles for Stalingrad first and, later, Kursk, Washington and London perfectly realized that as a result of the Soviet victories a radical turn had taken place in the course of the war. This can be seen from the quite indicative document issued by the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, dated 2 August 1943, on the role of the USSR in the war, which included an assessment entirely different from the one given at the beginning of the war, and which the author cites. "Russia," the document read, "is holding a dominating position in World War II, and is a decisive factor in the forthcoming defeat of the Axis powers in Europe. While British and U.S. forces in Sicily are opposed by two German divisions, the Russian front is tying down approximately 200 German divisions. After the allies open a second front on the continent, this front will unquestionably be secondary compared to the Russian front and, as in the past, the Russian front will play a decisive role."

After the war, the document stipulated, Russia will be the strongest power in Europe (see page 190).

Under those circumstances, London and Washington realized that resolving problems of the postwar peaceful settlement would be impossible without Soviet participation. Furthermore, the Soviet Union would have to be taken greatly into consideration. A radical change in the course of military operations on the Soviet-German front also brought about a radical change in the nature of relations among the USSR, the United States and Great Britain.

Favorable conditions were created for energizing the activities of Soviet diplomacy. A conference of ministers of foreign affairs of the three allied powers was held in Moscow in 1943, followed by the meeting of their heads in Tehran. In the final account, Soviet diplomacy succeeded in ensuring the adoption of a decision, coordinated by the three countries, on the opening of a second front in Europe by American and British forces. The initial decisions of the three powers on problems of the postwar peace settlement were formulated as well. This marked the beginning of a new stage in the cooperation among the three countries.

However, as the author proves, the beginning of the liberation mission of the USSR in Europe, the landing of American and British troops in Northern France and the obviously approaching surrender of fascist Germany triggered a new wave of anti-Soviet feelings among reactionary Western forces. Germany no longer represented a particular threat to Great Britain, and influential forces in its ruling circles were beginning to consider how to use it once again in the struggle against the USSR. The British military authorities undertook the formulation of plans for war on the Soviet Union, involving the participation of German forces. In a report to the government, dated 9 September 1944, the British chiefs of staff pointed out that in the case of



conflict with the USSR it would be desirable for Great Britain to use "all the help we could get from any source available to us, including Germany."

Another conference by the heads of the three powers was held in Yalta in February 1945. Difficult and sometimes terse discussions took place. Nevertheless, the result was the adoption of mutually acceptable decisions on the German, Polish and many other problems of postwar peace settlement. The author notes that the conference entered the history of World War II as the culminating point of cooperation among the three powers.

Relations among the three main allies experienced another trial after Harry Truman became the new U.S. president, following the death of Franklin Roosevelt on 12 April 1945. Truman immediately decided to hold a "firm course" toward the USSR, in which he was fully supported by Churchill. Soon afterwards, however, Truman was forced to acknowledge the groundlessness of his course. After Germany's surrender, the USSR was no longer at war, while the United States was continuing to fight Japan and no end to that war was yet in sight. The United States, which had hoped to dictate its will on the Soviet Union, soon found itself in the actual role of petitioner. It heavily relied on the atom bomb it was developing, the first test of which had taken place precisely on the eve of the Potsdam Conference. However, it did not have atom bombs ready for use yet. As they had done at the Yalta Conference, the American and British representatives found it necessary to compromise with the USSR in Potsdam. Soviet diplomacy succeeded in having mutually acceptable decisions reached at that conference as well.

Therefore, compared with the period at the beginning of the war, the situation in relations between the USSR and the United States and Great Britain had changed radically. As in the past, the latter did not sympathize in the least with their Soviet allies. However, by virtue of objective circumstances, unable to ignore the warm sympathy which the broad popular masses felt for the land of the soviets, they were forced to take the views of that country and its interests and positions on international problems into consideration. As the author notes with full justification, the fact that the Soviet Union was able to defend its suggestions on the majority of problems considered at the conference was the result of the decisive role it had played in the defeat of fascist Germany, the radical change in the correlation of forces in Europe and the continuing strengthening of the international positions of the USSR and of the people's democracies. The United States and Great Britain were unable to impose their will on the Soviet Union.

In summing up the results of Soviet diplomatic activities during the Great Patriotic War, the author notes that, relying on the favorable circumstances created as a result of the heroic struggle waged by the Soviet people, Soviet diplomacy made a decisive contribution to ensuring successful cooperation among the main participants in the anti-Hitlerite coalition. He also brings to light the essentially important role which Soviet diplomacy played in resolving the problems of postwar peace settlement. The Soviet Union ensured the safeguarding of its state interests. The security of the USSR in Europe and the Far East strengthened. Another great merit of Soviet diplomacy was the fact that the interference of imperialist countries in the domestic affairs of the young people's democracies in Central and Southeastern Europe

was prevented and the fact that they were protected from the export of counterrevolution. The author notes that the Communist Party and Soviet government ascribed essential importance to taking steps which would prevent a new aggression by German imperialism and a new war in the future. The best criterion of the extent to which the Soviet Union was able to resolve this most important problem is the fact that, together with the other peoples of Europe, the Soviet people have been able to live in peace for the past 40 years.

The relevance of this work, which is rich in facts, lies not only in fact that the author has profoundly described one of the factors for the great victory--Soviet diplomatic activities--which, in itself, is important, but also that this work helps us to realize the greatness of Soviet policy pursued by the CPSU in ensuring peace and rescuing mankind from a threatening nuclear catastrophe.

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